

# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

Edited by H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

GUSTAV GRUENBAUM

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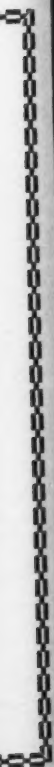
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# Modern Language Notes

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## VOLTAIRE'S PESSIMISTIC REVISION OF THE CONCLUSION OF HIS *POÈME SUR LE DÉSASTRE DE LISBONNE*

The subject of the *Poème sur le Désastre de Lisbonne*, with the age-old problem of evil and the questions aroused regarding the doctrine of Providence, was ticklish, and from the beginning Voltaire shows himself concerned to express himself in terms which will not too much expose him to danger from the theologians. To Thieriot he writes as early as Jan. 2, 1756: "Je vous prie d'aller chez M. d'Argental avec ce petit billet; il vous communiquera le sermon,<sup>1</sup> et vous verrez ensemble s'il est possible que cela soit communiqué."<sup>2</sup> His doubts about publication are reiterated, but more jocularly, to D'Argental himself on Jan. 8: "Mon sermon sur Lisbonne n'a été fait que pour édifier votre troupeau, et je ne jette point le pain de vie aux chiens."<sup>3</sup> In February he is more specific in seeking counsel from the same trusted friend:

<sup>1</sup> The term *sermon* is employed constantly by Voltaire at this time in referring to his two poems on *La Loi naturelle* and on *Le Désastre de Lisbonne*, which were originally published together in March, 1756. (Cf. Moland, xxxix, 12.) The term was probably used in reaction against the actual sermons in Genevan pulpits dealing with the Lisbon earthquake of November 1, 1755, in much more orthodox fashion than Voltaire's "sermon" was to do. The choice of this word suggests also that the poem on Lisbon was probably composed during the latter half of December, 1755. (Cf. Moland, xxxviii, 522, 541.) Voltaire first mentions the earthquake in his correspondence on November 24. (Cf. Moland, xxxviii, 511.) He sends an incomplete copy of his poem to the duchesse de Saxe-Gotha on January 1, 1756. (Moland, xxxvii, 530.)

<sup>2</sup> Moland, xxxviii, 531.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

Si ceci n'est pas une tragédie, ce sont au moins des vers tragiques. Je vous demande en grâce de me mander s'ils sont orthodoxes: je les crois tels; mais j'ai peur d'être un mauvais théologien. . . . Je vous demande en grâce d'éplucher mon prêche.<sup>4</sup>

To Bertrand, pastor at Berne, he shows himself on February 28 particularly concerned about the all-important conclusion of his poem:

Vous me direz que . . . je laisse le lecteur dans la tristesse et dans le doute. Eh bien! il n'y a qu'à ajouter le mot d'espérer à celui d'adorer, et mettre:

Mortels, il faut souffrir,  
Se soumettre, adorer, espérer, et mourir.<sup>5</sup>

It would appear, then, that not until the end of February did Voltaire introduce into the conclusion the important idea of *hope*, in an attempt to mitigate its rather unrelieved pessimism and despair.

Bertrand evidently made suggestions which were adopted by the author, who writes promptly on March 7: "Vous verrez que j'aurai profité de vos sages et judicieuses réflexions,"<sup>6</sup> and encloses a whole new conclusion, some twenty-five lines longer than the earlier version and substantially like the one finally accepted.<sup>7</sup> These must have been approximately the lines sent to Thieriot five days later: "Si vous aimez les vers honnêtes et décents, voici ceux qui termineront le *sermon* sur Lisbonne; lâchez-les pour apaiser les cerbères."<sup>8</sup> The desire to appease the watch-dogs of theology is obviously still paramount.

In fact, now that the poem has been revised to practically its form as we know it at present, Voltaire is afraid he may have gone to the other extreme. "Je n'ai peur que d'être trop orthodoxe, parce que cela ne me sied pas; mais la résignation à l'Être suprême sied toujours bien."<sup>9</sup> This is on March 22, the date when he speaks of the unauthorized appearance at Paris of defective editions,<sup>10</sup> which of course have not profited by the "sages et judicieuses réflexions" of Bertrand and other friends. By April

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 543.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 556. In the earliest editions these two lines, without the emendation *espérer*, were the last two in the poem. Cf. Moland, *ix*, 480.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxix, 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 2-3.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

12, when he has published his own edition at Geneva, he comments on his difficult attempt to steer a middle course between two extremes. "Il a fallu dire ce que je pense, et le dire d'une manière qui ne révoltât ni les esprits trop philosophes ni les esprits trop crédules."<sup>11</sup> Thus trimming his sails to avoid the reefs of the *philosophes* on the one side and of the *dévots* on the other, the author contemplates the result with reasonable satisfaction:

J'ai arrondi ces deux ouvrages autant que j'ai pu; et, quoique j'y aie dit tout ce que je pense, je me flatte pourtant d'avoir trouvé le secret de ne pas offenser beaucoup de gens.<sup>12</sup>

Here then the matter of the conclusion of Voltaire's poem might seem to rest and the chief inference to be drawn from the passages cited is that Voltaire in 1756 was still very hesitant about expressing publicly his frank opinion on important matters of religious doctrine. It is also evident that the conclusion of the poem as we now have it has been considerably modified from earlier drafts in order to express hope in a future life as a relief from the sufferings of this world. Hence, it would be entirely unsafe to quote Voltaire's final lines as representing accurately his real opinion. In fact they appear very clearly as a sop thrown to the orthodox in order that the author's peace might not be too much disturbed.

Indeed, so true is it that Voltaire had made himself appear "trop orthodoxe,"<sup>13</sup> that he actually contemplated still another revision of his concluding lines, a revision, however, which seems never to have appeared in any printed edition. This projected revision is found in an edition of his poem now in the Voltaire library at Leningrad and bearing the following title: "Poemes sur le Desastre de Lisbonne et sur la Loi naturelle, Nouvelle édition. En May 1756, 51 pp." This edition is the second published by Cramer at Geneva under Voltaire's supervision.<sup>14</sup> The copy at Leningrad is bound in a volume of miscellanies labelled *Potpourri*<sup>15</sup> and bears the call-number, 9-52. Between pages 16-17

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 13. Cited above.

<sup>14</sup> Bengesco, *Bibliographie de Voltaire*, I, 166-67.

<sup>15</sup> Some one hundred and fifty volumes of miscellanies thus labelled are to be found in the Voltaire library.

at the end of the poem on Lisbon is a paper bookmark and written on these pages in Voltaire's hand are the following corrections to the text, as though for the guidance of the printer of a new edition.<sup>16</sup>

Lines 118-119 read:

*Un jour tout sera bien, voilà notre espérance;  
Tout est bien aujourd'hui, voilà l'illusion.*<sup>17</sup>

Instead of "voilà notre espérance," Voltaire wrote in the text: "quelle frele [sic] espérance!" The phrase "voilà l'illusion" he changed to: "c'est qu'elle [sic] illusion!"

The concluding lines of the poem as it now stands tell of a caliph who in his final prayer to God used the following words, which are amplified by the author's comment in the last line:

*"Je t'apporte, ô seul roi, seul être illimité,  
Tout ce que tu n'as pas dans ton immensité,  
Les défauts, les regrets, les maux, et l'ignorance."  
Mais il pouvait encore ajouter l'espérance.*

Thus Voltaire concluded his poem and again dwelt upon *hope* as the final and only consolation. In his emendation written in the text he has weakened this conclusion in the same direction of pessimism and scepticism just noted above. This was done by the very simple device of changing the final line into a question and making it read:

*Mais pouvait-il encor ajouter l'espérance?*

In the light of the long series of revisions which had preceded it, this version appears particularly significant as Voltaire's final word on the conclusion of this important poem. Probably it was prudence again, in the end, which triumphed and prevented this very unorthodox version from getting out of the author's own private library at Ferney to the printed page.

GEORGE R. HAVENS.

Ohio State University.

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<sup>16</sup> Such was Voltaire's custom when preparing the edition published by Walther in 1752, as with several later editions.

<sup>17</sup> Moland, IX, 478.

Si la nuit du tombeau détruit l'être qui pense.

Un jour tout sera bien ; <sup>garde les pieds</sup> ~~de la~~ notre espérance ;

Tout est bien aujourd'hui, <sup>c'est qu'elle</sup> ~~non~~ l'illusion !

Les Sages me trompaient , & DIEU seul a raison.

Humble dans mes soupirs, soumis dans ma souffrance,

Je ne m'élève point contre la Providence.

Sur un ton moins lugubre on me vit autrefois,

Chanter des doux plaisirs les séduisantes loix.

D'autres tems d'autres mœurs : instruit par la vieillesse ,

Des humains égarés partageant la faiblesse ,

Dans une épaisse nuit cherchant à m'éclairer ,

Je ne fai que souffrir , & non pas murmurer.

Un Calife autrefois à son heure dernière

Au DIEU qu'il adorait dit pour toute prière :

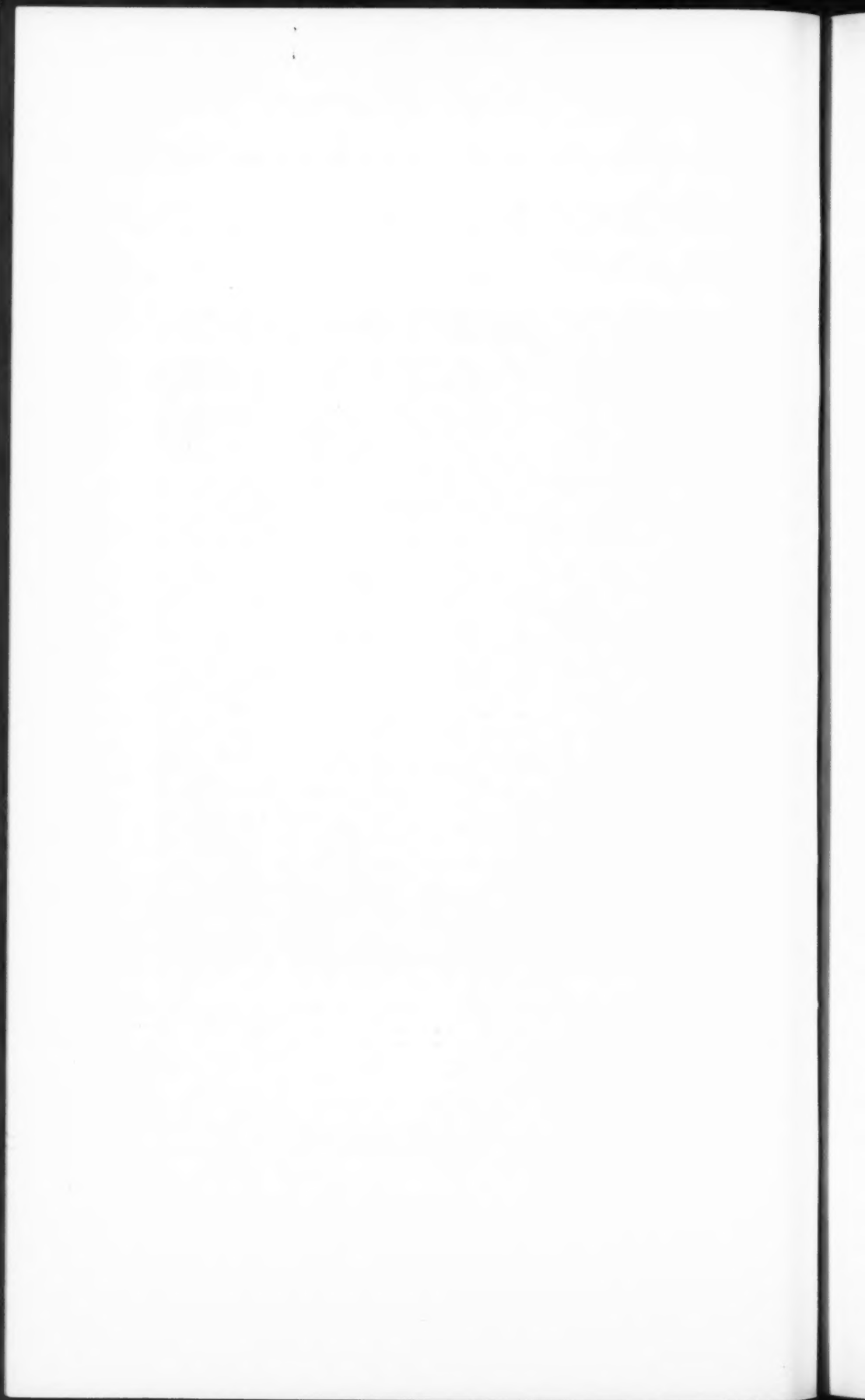
Je t'apporte , ô seul Roi , seul être illimité ,

Tout ce que tu n'as point dans ton immensité ;

Les défauts , les ~~regrets~~ , les maux & l'ignorance.

Mais ~~il~~ pouvait encor ajouter L'ESPERANCE. <sup>d</sup>

*d* Voyez les notes à la fin du Poëme.





## THE MANCIPLE'S PROLOGUE

The Manciple's Prologue, with its dramatic by-play of the drunken Cook, is definitely located for us in—

a litel toun,  
Which that ycleped is Bobbe-up-and-down,  
Under the Blee, in Caunterbury weye.

Why Chaucer should have called this little town by the curious appellation of "Bobbe-up-and-down" is one of the minor puzzles of Chaucerian scholarship; but it is reasonably certain that the place he had in mind is Harbledown, about a mile to the west of Canterbury. Harbledown precisely conforms to the specifications: it is "in Caunterbury weye," i. e. on the highway from London to Canterbury; and it is directly "under the Blee." Blean Wood, or The Blean, is a region of hilly woodland to the west and north of Canterbury. The highest elevation given on the Ordnance Survey map is 402 feet above sea-level.<sup>1</sup> The highway from London to Canterbury crosses it at an elevation of 390 feet, after climbing the steep Boughton Hill from the village of "Boghton under Blee," mentioned in the Prologue of the Canon's Yeoman (G 556). To the eastward the road descends more gently to Harbledown (3 miles), whose village street "bobs up and down" at elevations ranging from 100 to 150 feet, and commands a fine view of the city of Canterbury, lying below it at an elevation of less than 50 feet.

In 1868 J. M. Cowper in a letter to the *Athenæum*, which is reprinted in the Chaucer Society volume, *Some Notes on the Road from London to Canterbury* (pp. 36-38), proposed that Chaucer's "Bobbe-up-and-down" should be identified with a certain Up-and-Down Field near Thannington Church, about a mile to the south east of Canterbury on the south side of the River Stour. This identification seems to me far from probable. Up-and-Down Field

<sup>1</sup> The earliest known map of Kent is Lambarde's "Carde of this Shyre," which probably dates from about 1570. It is reproduced in *Archæologia Cantiana*, xxxviii, p. 89 (1926). In vol. xxxix of the same journal (p. 141) is reproduced a copy of the third issue of this map, dating from about 1720-30, in which the roads, not shown in the earlier issues, are indicated. On this map of 1570 the elevated land of Blean Wood is shown by a group of hillocks; and "Harbaldowne" is shown directly "under" the easternmost hillock.

could not be called a "litel toun"; for Chaucer uses the word *town* in our modern sense, and never with the earlier meaning of "enclosed farmstead." It is not "under the Blee"; for the valley of the Stour lies between it and the uplands of Blean Wood. It is not "in Caunterbury weye"; for to reach it the pilgrims must have left the London-Canterbury road at Boughton and skirted the Blean plateau to the south (as the railway does). Had they made this detour, as Mr. Cowper thought they did,<sup>2</sup> they would presumably have approached Canterbury by the old Pilgrim's Way from Winchester; and this road joined the London road just east of Harbledown. Up-and-Down Field has in its favor nothing but its name.

No other identification of "Bobbe-up-and-down" has been proposed; and a diligent search of the maps reveals no other possibilities. To the west of Blean Wood the only "litel toun" which lies "in Caunterbury weye" is the "Boghton-under-Blee" mentioned in the third line of the Canon's Yeoman's Prologue.

From the church of Harbledown to the Westgate of Canterbury, on the more northerly branch of the Stour, the distance is just over a mile. From Thannington church, the site of Mr. Cowper's Up-and-Down Field, the distance to the Castle Gate of Canterbury is almost exactly the same. If pilgrims bound for Canterbury have reached "Bobbe-up-and-down"—whether it be Harbledown or Thannington—they are all but at the end of their way. A quarter of an hour of easy riding will bring them to their journey's end. From the top of Harbledown hill they would see spread before them the goal of their pilgrimage. It seems most unlikely that Chaucer, with his keen sense of actuality and his certain familiarity with the road that leads through Canterbury to Dover, should have thought of his pilgrim company as beginning a new tale with the destination already in sight. It is quite inconceivable that he should have thought that between "Bobbe-up-and-down" and Canterbury there was time both for the Manciple's Tale and the long discourse of the Parson.

<sup>2</sup> The pilgrims of Lydgate's tale of the *Siege of Thebes* travel a road which cannot have varied much from the present course of Watling Street. At the end of Part I the company is descending Blean hill; and Part II begins when they have passed the thorp of "Bowton on the ble." (Three MSS. read "under þe ble.")

Though all the manuscripts link the Parson's Tale with the Manciple's, it has long been obvious to students of the poem that the two tales are not in close sequence. The Manciple's prologue is "by the morwe" and the Parson's at four in the afternoon.<sup>3</sup> It seems clear that the word "Manciple" in the first line of the Parson's prologue was written in by the scribal editor, or literary executor, who sought to put together as best he could the fragmentary materials which Chaucer left behind him at his death. Professor Manly in his recent edition of the *Canterbury Tales* (p. 655) has suggested the possibility that the Parson's Tale "was intended to close up the journey back to Southwark." Any one who will reread the Parson's head-link with this suggestion in mind will find much to recommend it. Lines 19, 47, and 63—

Almoost fulfild is al myn ordinaunce.

To knytte up al this feeste and make an ende

To enden in som vertuous sentence—

have about them the ring of finality.

If the Parson's Tale "was intended to close up the journey back to Southwark," I believe that when Chaucer wrote the Manciple's Prologue, he thought of it as introducing the first tale of the homeward journey, that when at "Bobbe-up-and-down" Harry Bailly gan for to jape and play, his company was not at its journey's end but had just started out on the road back to the Tabard Inn.<sup>4</sup> If it is unlikely that a new tale should be called for within a mile of the journey's goal, it is in every way appropriate that the Pilgrims should not begin the homeward series of tales until they had begun to settle down to their journey. At the beginning of the outward journey, it is at St. Thomas-a-Watering, about a mile and a half

<sup>3</sup> There is a further discrepancy. The Parson's head-link is located "as we were entryng at a thropes ende" (I, 12). As Mr. Manly has remarked in his note on the passage, there was no village between Harbledown—or Thannington—and Canterbury.

<sup>4</sup> The same suggestion was made years ago by ten Brink: "We cannot exactly make out whether the poet originally wrote this piece for the out-journey, or for the beginning of the journey home: the latter seems to us the more probable." (*Hist. Eng. Lit.*, II, i, 182.) Ten Brink has only this to say; and later students have ignored his suggestion.

from the Tabard Inn, that the Host calls upon the company to begin the story-telling agreed to the night before.

The time of day is "by the morwe" (H 16). If the reader will consult the Chaucer Concordance *s. v.* Morrow, he will find sixteen instances of the phrase "by the morwe," and will note that in all but two of these instances the context makes plain that it refers to very early morning. That that is the meaning here seems to be implied by the lines (17-19) in which the Host explains the drunken stupor of the Cook.<sup>5</sup> Even if the Pilgrims on the way to Canterbury spent a night at Ospringe, as seems to be implied by the Canon's Yeoman's Prologue, they could not have ridden ten miles and arrived at Harbledown while it was still early morning. If they are but just started on their way from Canterbury, all is simple; the drunken Cook can blame the ale of Canterbury, as the drunken Miller, early on the first day of the expedition, blames his condition on the ale of Southwark.

If the Manciple's Tale was intended for the beginning, and the Parson's for the conclusion of the homeward journey, one may venture the guess that this fact explains their juxtaposition in all the manuscripts. The scribal editor who first tried after Chaucer's death to put into presentable form the unfinished materials of the *Canterbury Tales* may well have found these two homeward tales tied up together in a single bundle by themselves.

Princeton University.

ROBERT K. ROOT.

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#### CHAUCER'S MAN OF LAW AT THE PARVIS

In his recent edition of selections from the *Canterbury Tales*,<sup>1</sup> Professor Manly gives the following note on the phrase "at the parvys" which occurs in the description of the Man of Law in the *Prologue*:<sup>2</sup>

<sup>5</sup> In the *Tale of Beryn* the pilgrims returning from Canterbury reach "þe townys ende" (line 676) just at sun-up, and the host at once begins to arrange for the telling of a tale. He will not draw lots, lest the lot fall on some one who is "semybousy ovyr eve" (line 706).

<sup>1</sup> New York, 1928, p. 518.

<sup>2</sup> Editors have always explained this as a reference to the porch of St. Paul's, where lawyers were accustomed in the sixteenth century to meet

A Sergeant of the Lawe, war and wys,  
That often hadde been at the parvys,  
Ther was also, ful riche of excellence (309-11).

It seems to me that Professor Manly's first conjecture is unacceptable altogether, and his second unacceptable in his interpretation. I shall discuss his suggestions, and then attempt to demonstrate that the traditional explanation of the passage is, with some modifications, still the most satisfactory.

In trying to attach the *parvis* to the court of the Exchequer at Westminster Professor Manly is led into error by considering *paradisus* and *parvis* as equivalents. Authorities are indeed agreed in regarding *paradisus* as the etymon of both the French and the English form of *parvis*, but the equivalent of *parvis* is rather the Vulgar Latin *paravisus*, *paravisius*, etc., and in fact *pervisum* is the form used by Fortescue,<sup>3</sup> who is one of the nearest to Chaucer in point of date of those using the term. Furthermore, those very passages in Rymer to which Professor Manly refers demonstrate that the apartment in Westminster Palace known as Paradise had

their clients for consultation. But this explanation seems doubtful. In the first place, it is not certain that St. Paul's was so used in the fourteenth century. *Paradisus* and its vernacular equivalent *parvys* were in common use, and there was a *paradisus* at Westminster, mentioned in fourteenth century building accounts recorded in Rymer's *Foedera* (see Syllabus, Index, under *Westminster*). According to a document of May 17, 1550, it was then used for the court of the Exchequer (Rymer, O, xv, 233 or H. VI, pt. iii, 190). There is, however, still another explanation that demands consideration. The great lawyer John Selden, in a note on Fortescue's *De Laudibus Legum Angliae* (ed. 1737, p. 120), after quoting this passage from Chaucer, says: 'It signifies an Afternoon Exercise or Moot, to the Instruction of young Students, bearing the same name originally (I guess) with *Parvisiae* in Oxford, as they call their Sitting Generals in the Schools in the Afternoon.' He quotes Wake, *Musae Regnantes* for this usage: 'Has, quia iis inferiores, *Parvas*, jam etiam corrupto nomine, *Parvisias* dicere consuevimus.' See also the quotations in *OED* (*Parvis*, 2) under 1530, 1706, and 1886, with the concluding remarks.

As the emphasis is on the Man of Law's wisdom, either of the two last explanations would seem preferable to the first: that is, either 'he had often sat in the court of the Exchequer,' or 'he had often presided at the moots of the students in the inns of court.' I think the last the more probable.

<sup>3</sup> *De Laudibus Legum Angliae* (London, 1616, ch. 51, p. 124), "Sed placentes tunc se devertunt ad pervisum, et alibi consulentes cum servientibus ad legem et aliis consiliariis suis."

formerly been a perquisite of courtiers rather than a court-room. Not until 1550 was it converted to the use of the Exchequer and the former occupant indemnified for the loss of it.<sup>4</sup> There seems to be no evidence, then, that the word *parvis* had any association with the apartment called Paradise or the court of the Exchequer at Westminster.

Professor Manly's second suggestion, that the reference is to the moots of the students in the inns of court, is nearer to plausibility, supported as it is by the prestige of Selden; and Walcott<sup>5</sup> has proposed a figurative meaning of the word as used in the Townley Mysteries:

*Froward.* Why, it is true that I told,

*Fayn prove* I wold.

*Secundus Tortor.* Thou shalbe call'd to *pervyce*;

of which he says the true meaning is, You shall be put in the Logic School and prove it true. Such a meaning would be possible in the passage in Chaucer: that the Man of Law had often been tried and tested. Nevertheless, in spite of Selden, the sentence in Fortescue<sup>6</sup> hardly supports the idea that the Sergeants were presiding over students' exercises, but rather suggests that the *pervisum* was a place where they might be consulted on professional business. This was the idea of Somner,<sup>7</sup> who considered that the *parvis* might be the Palace Yard at Westminster, "quem in locum diver-

<sup>4</sup> T. Rymer, *Foedera*, London, 1713, xv, 233 f. (May 17, 1550): "Cum Nos . . . dederimus et concesserimus Dilecto et Servienti nostro *Andreae Dudley* Militi uni Generosorum privatae Camerae nostrae, omnia et singula Tenementa Mesuagia Domos Mansiones vocata *Paradyse et Hell* infra Aulam nostram Westm. . . Habenda tenenda possidenda et gaudenda . . . pro termino Vitae suae . . . Quae quidem Domus sive Mesuagia occupantur utuntur et convertuntur ad Usus deponendi et conservandi Recorda et Rotula Curiae Scaccarii nostri, . . . De Gratia nostra speciali . . . in plenam Satisfactionem et Contentationem omnium et singulorum Domorum sive Mesuagiorum . . . dedimus et concessimus, ac per Praesentes damus et concedimus eidem *Andreae Dudley* Militi, quandam Annuitatem sive annualem Redditem *duodecim Librarum tresdecim Solidorum et octo Denariorum* bonae et legalis Monetae nostrae Angliae."

<sup>5</sup> Walcott, M. E. C., "Keeping School in the Parvise" in *Notes and Queries*, 6th ser., I (1880), 437 f.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. note 3 above.

<sup>7</sup> In his *Glossarium* to Twysden's *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores Decem*, London, 1652, s. v. *Triforium*.



soriis plenum, hodieque diebus juridicis clientes cum causidicis (quoties opus fuerit) consulturi, forum et aulam strepitu repletam exeuntes, solent se conferre. Et quod ita etiam se res habuerit tempore Fortescuti, verba ejus satis arguunt." He then cites the passage in Fortescue referred to above, and goes on to say very justly, "Quae de loco eo nomine noto, non autem de quovis exercitio sic dicto (ni fallor) intelligenda."

Further evidence to support this view may be found if, instead of being too greatly impressed by the fact that *parvis* was derived from *paradisus*, we investigate its meaning in the fifteenth century. That meaning is given us in the *Promptorium Parvulorum*<sup>8</sup> as *parlatorium*. Now according to Carpentier's addition to Du Cange *parlatorium* may mean not only *parloir*, but also *locus ubi iudices litigantes audiunt*. It seems to me a justifiable assumption that the meaning of this word was later developed into the signification of a place where lawyers heard their clients, and that that meaning is the one that was attached to the equivalent word *parvis*.<sup>9</sup>

Besides Oxford (in relation to which the word has the academic meaning indicated by Selden, *e. g.* in the *Workes* of Sir Thomas More, London, 1557, p. 841) the only place mentioned in connection with a *parvis* is St. Paul's Cathedral. Professor Manly in *Some New Light on Chaucer*<sup>10</sup> has very properly emphasized the fact that Chaucer's Man of Law was not a simple lawyer, but a Sergeant of the Law—a personage of considerable rank and dignity. When we consider that the Sergeants had a close association with St. Paul's I believe we are near a correct interpretation of the passage under discussion. Machyn's *Diary*<sup>11</sup> and Dugdale's *Origines Juridiciales*<sup>12</sup> give us interesting accounts in greater or less detail of various investitures of Sergeants during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and especially of certain ceremonies which took place at St. Paul's. The fullest account of these last is that of Dugdale describing a ceremony of 1577-8 (p. 124):

<sup>8</sup> Ed. A. L. Mayhew (E. E. T. S.), London, 1908, col. 329.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the somewhat similar development of the French *parloir* as applied to a court in the term *Parloir aux Bourgeois*. (Du Breul, J., *Les Antiquités de la ville de Paris*, Paris, 1640, pp. 673 f.).

<sup>10</sup> New York, 1926, pp. 131-157.

<sup>11</sup> London, 1848, pp. 26 f., 95, 195.

<sup>12</sup> 2nd ed., London, 1671, pp. 113-140.

And then the newe Serjaunts . . . come downe on the West side of Cheapside to *Powles*; and ther at the Steppes in the Chauncell, they kneele and praye and give Almise: And then they go downe to the bodye of the Church; and ther everie two of the olde Serjaunts in ther Auncientye bringe them to ther Pillers; videlicet the auneyent newe Serjaunt to the uppermost Piller in the Northe Isle, on the right hand thereof ther: And the secound newe Serjaunt at the other piller ther, over ageinst the other in the Ile; and so the other newe Serjaunts at the next other Pillers downwarde in that Ile: And they stande A *Pater noster* wheyle ther, and then they come all in order to ther Chambers ageyne. . . . [The meaning of this "auncyente custome" (p. 119) Dugdale gives us later (p. 142) when he speaks of] S. Pauls Church, where each Lawyer and Serjeant, at his Pillar heard his Client's Cause, and took notes thereof upon his knee; as they do in *Guild Hall* at this day: And, that, after the Serjeants feast ended, they do still go to *Pauls* in their Habits, and there choose their Pillar, whereat to hear their Clyents cause (if any come) in memory of that old Custome.

In view of the conservative character of legal institutions it seems to me significant that the documents here cited refer to the antiquity of this exercise—which certainly seems an unusually empty form of ceremony if it does not have tradition behind it—so that these references may be considered as a strong argument in reply to Professor Manly's objection that "it is not certain that St. Paul's was so used in the fourteenth century."<sup>13</sup>

But if the pillars along the north aisle of St. Paul's constituted the *parvis* where lawyers met their clients,<sup>14</sup> how are we to reconcile this conception with the idea of the *parvis* as the church porch? Here again, I think, too much etymology has obscured the meaning of the word. Common-sense has made the assumption that the

<sup>13</sup> At least it is certain that St. Paul's was put to far more profane uses in 1385—Cf. the letter of Bishop Braybrook in Wilkin's *Concilia*, London, 1737, III, 194.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. H. Spelman, *Glossarium Archaiologicum*, 3rd. ed., London, 1687, s. v. *parvae*, p. 453. After citing Selden's note on Fortescue he says: "Sed dici videtur de parte Ecclesiae ubi conveniebant neophiti discendi gratia, nam similiter ibi legis periti convenire ut clientibus occurrerent, non ad tyrocinia Juris, quas notas vocant exercenda." Perhaps the clue to the transition in meaning of *parvis* from *locus ubi iudices litigantes audiunt* to "place where lawyers met their clients" is to be found in the fact that the space between the first and third bays of the north aisle of St. Paul's was devoted to the Consistory Court. (Cf. the plan in Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's Cathedral*, 2nd ed., London, 1716).

*parvis* and Paul's Walk were practically synonymous,<sup>15</sup> and, without entering into the question of whether there was any church porch before that built by Inigo Jones, we may safely assume that if the interior of the church was used for all sorts of plebeian occupations the most eminent lawyers in the kingdom below the rank of judge would not have been relegated to outdoors. To reason that because *parvis* had at one time meant church porch and was later to mean church porch, it could therefore have had no other meaning, would be like assuming that any "court" to-day must necessarily be an uncovered exterior enclosure.

There remains, however, one difficulty to be cleared up,—that, I imagine, which caused Professor Manly to become discontented with the old explanation of this passage. Of what significance in impressing us with the "greet reverence" of the Man of Law was it that he had been "often" to the *parvis* if that was the place where he transacted his daily business? Dugdale again provides us with the answer. In his accounts of the investitures of Sergeants he states that the old Sergeants had the duty of introducing the new ones to their respective pillars. Now since Sergeants were few and were selected at comparatively infrequent intervals<sup>16</sup> one who had often been at the *parvis* must have been among the most reverend of that dignified body—and also among the richest, for, says Fortescue (p. 120), "Neither is there any man of Lawe through out the universal world, which, by reason of his office or profession, gaineth so much as one of these Serjeants." Thus by a few innocent words Chaucer was adding ever so little to the delightful pomposity of his Man of Law.

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<sup>15</sup> Cf. Cunningham, P., *Hand-book of London*, London, 1850, p. 381; Pulling, A., *The Order of the Coif*, Boston, 1897, pp. 3, 70, 71 and n. 1, and 263; and Dugdale, *Origines*, p. 195.

<sup>16</sup> Manly, *Some New Light*, pp. 134 f.

## SOME LINGUISTIC STUDIES OF 1928

The most important event of 1928, in the linguistic field, was the completion of the *New English Dictionary*. The occasion brought forth many historical sketches of the undertaking, and it would be useless to add another sketch here. I will content myself with emphasizing anew the scientific importance of the *Dictionary*, and the gratitude which all linguists feel toward all that numerous company which labored so many years on the great work.<sup>1</sup> It is a pleasure to record the fact that the general public as well as the linguists have shown a real appreciation of the value of the "Oxford Dictionary" to Anglo-Saxon civilization. A less imposing but highly valuable enterprise is the *Ordbog over det Danske Sprog*, which has now reached its tenth volume.<sup>2</sup> Each year the *Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab* publishes a new volume of this dictionary, and the work thus steadily marches on to completion. The latest volume measures up worthily to the high standard set by the Society and by modern lexicography.

The fifth volume of the *English Place-Name Society*, like its predecessors, is a careful, thorough and valuable piece of work.<sup>3</sup> I have noted, however, a few matters of detail which need further attention: (p. xxxii) *Catterick* is here noted with an [ð], but on p. 242 with a [θ]; (p. 16) the phonetic development in *Shipton* is unhappily explained,—the spellings with initial *Yh-* indicate that a palatal spirant developed and eventually became *sh*, doubtless at first only after a genitival *-s* (in the name of the owner of the farm) but later extended to all positions of the name in the sentence; (p. 21) for *Alne* see Ekwall, *English River Names*, pp. 6 f.; (p. 49) the pronunciation of Irish *gh* is described as "aspirated," a term which no Celticist ought to use in such a sense; the *l* of *Ampleforth* (p. 56) and the *n* of *Givendale* (p. 94) are probably due to dissimilation; for *Walton* (p. 66), *Wardle Rigg* (p. 88), *Wapley* (p. 141), *Walden* (p. 265), *Walburn* (p. 270), see R.

<sup>1</sup> For a bibliography of the subject, see *American Speech*, III, 485 and IV, 74.

<sup>2</sup> Tiende Bind, Kant-Kongstanke, Copenhagen, 1928, pp. 619 (cols. 1238); for a review of earlier volumes see *MLN.*, XLIII, 349 f.

<sup>3</sup> *The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire*, by A. H. Smith. Cambridge, 1928; pp. xlv + 352.

E. Zachrisson, *Romans, Kelts and Saxons*, pp. 41 ff.; *Stilton* (p. 73) possibly comes by metathesis from the earlier *Tilston*; the nasal forms of *Osgodby* (p. 104) and *Osgoodby* (p. 190) indicate a survival of the old nasal vowel; the *i* of *Rai-* (p. 124) is possibly nothing more than a sign of length; (p. 153) the explanation at the bottom of the page is highly questionable; (p. 154) the "erratic" *al* of *al-felebrigge* may perhaps be a French translation of ME. *atte* 'at the'; (pp. 250 f.) see Ekwall, *English River Names* p. 428; (p. 263) see also *Haskerth* (p. 121) for ON. *au* > *a*; in general, more pronunciations ought to be indicated, e. g., the value of the *s* in *Busby* (p. 169).

Professor Eilert Ekwall has given us a masterpiece in his latest volume,<sup>4</sup> which it would be hard to praise too highly. Celticists will be especially interested in the work, which abounds in Celtic etymologies and throws light on various points of Welsh grammar, as the date of the shift of stress (p. lxiii). Some of us, however, must shake our heads at *Aryan* in the sense 'Indo-European' (*loc. cit.*) and at *lenation* for lenition (p. lxxi and *passim*). The word *lenition* is an excellent formation and is duly recorded in the *NED.*; I cannot make out why a few otherwise respectable scholars reject it in favor of the barbarous *lenation*, which, I am glad to say, is *not* in the *NED.* Mr. Ekwall also once uses the distressing term *Zend* (p. 219). But let me turn to the etymologies. *Bollin* (p. 40) may be connected with *bowl* 'bubble'; for the phonology, compare *Gussage* (p. 187), where syncope or haplology has been at work. *Denebrok* (p. 113) may be compared with the old name for the Eider; see E. Wadstein, *Norden och Västeuropa i Gammal Tid*, p. 156. The same comparison may be made in other names containing the element. The *o* of *Dorn* (p. 129) goes with that of *acorn* and various other words; it is a phonetic development, as I expect to show some day. For the semantic development of OE *fleot* (p. 158) compare *creek* in American usage. The spelling *Gamles* (p. 169) probably means that the earlier *wn* had become a nasalized *w*; it is needless to suppose that *Gamles* "stands for *Gainles*" (p. 170). The OW. \**Glén* is surely the source of both *Glen* Nb and *Glen* Le (p. 177). When this was taken into (prehistoric) English, the palatization of the *n* might be imitated, or it might be given up. Any imitation would have to take the form \**Glennje*,

<sup>4</sup> *English River Names*, Oxford, 1928; pp. xcii + 488.

whence the extant *Glenne* (with regular loss of *j* after a long syllable). If no imitation of the palatal effect were attempted, a simple *Glene* would be used, as apparently in Nb. The phonetic symbol  $\check{z}$  (p. 224) is doubtless a mistake for  $\hat{z}$ . The *-e-* of *Merke-dene* (p. 278) seems to be a svarabhakti vowel. For an explanation of *Pont* and *lone* (p. 332) see *Mod. Phil.* xx, 197. The *t* in *Seft* (p. 358) may be a phonetic development parallel to *s* > *st*. The *æ* of OE. *Sæfern* (p. 359) is due rather to phonetic analogy than to *i*-umlaut.

Mr. Ekwall's book is, in form, a dictionary. The dictionary form seems to be increasingly used of late in works where a different arrangement was formerly employed. Thus, Mr. Fowler and Mr. Krapp recently gave us works of reference in which the material was arranged in alphabetical order, and most of Mr. Tucker's volume on American English is devoted to two word-lists.<sup>5</sup> Since I failed to mention Mr. Tucker's book in my survey of last year, I will take this opportunity to say that it is an excellent piece of work in spite of its somewhat old-fashioned point of view. The two word-lists, devoted to spurious and true Americanisms, and the bibliography, will remain useful for a long time to come, and it will be many years before the volume can be set aside as out-of-date. The most recent work of this dictionary type is Professor Weseen's *Dictionary of English Grammar*.<sup>6</sup> Mr. Weseen in his Preface says that his book "deals with the nomenclature of English grammar and with the chief difficulties of grammar and usage." Those who refer to the work will find it often convenient but less often thorough and hardly ever authoritative. Indeed, it is by no means free from really serious errors, and the individual articles in many cases leave much to be desired. I will point out a few of the many weak spots. The article on "aspect" could hardly be worse. The article "borrowed words, miscellaneous" includes an astonishing number of preposterous etymologies. Under "grammar" we are told that "the content of most modern grammars may be summarized under *Parts of speech*, *Inflection*, and *Syntax*." Fortunately

<sup>5</sup> Gilbert M. Tucker, *American English*, New York, 1921, pp. 375. For notices of the works of Mr. Fowler and Mr. Krapp, see *MLN.*, XLII, 201 f. and XLIII, 504 f.

<sup>6</sup> M. H. Weseen, *Crowell's Dictionary of English Grammar and Handbook of American Usage*, New York, 1928; pp. x + 703.



most of our best grammarians of today do not limit themselves to such a content. Under "homonyms" no distinction is made between pairs like *do: dew*, *ant: aunt*, *for: four*, *weather: whether*, which are not homonymous at all in the speech of many people, and pairs like *all: awl*, which are homonymous in the speech of everybody. Moreover, the list of homonyms includes mere variations in spelling, like *gaol: jail*, and even *real: reel*, where the two words are neither spelt nor pronounced alike. "Philology" is defined in a one-sided and misleading fashion, if present usage is to be understood. The author himself uses "philology" once (p. 313) where he ought to have said "etymology," and once (p. 457) where he ought to have said "semantics."<sup>7</sup> Finally, it is hard to see the grounds which determine the inclusion or the exclusion of certain articles; thus, we find a discussion of "bootlegger," but none of "hijacker" or "racketeer." On the whole, I find myself unable to recommend Mr. Weseen's book, although it is undeniably good in spots.

A grammar more conventional in character is that of Professor Long.<sup>8</sup> It is true that Mr. Long lays claim to a good deal of originality: he tells us (p. iii) that "much of the material here presented has never before appeared in an English grammar, and many principles have been stated in new form." I cannot find in the book, however, anything strikingly novel. On the contrary, it is written along traditional lines. Thus, *preposition* is described (p. 4) as "a 'placed before' word," and on p. 181 we read that "good usage calls for the placing of the Preposition in its normal grammatical position (unless emphasis is especially desired), namely before its noun or noun-equivalent." The author begins his book with a definition of grammar which excludes phonology. He continues with a passage of great significance (inasmuch as it reveals his point of view): "in every language there are two standards of usage: the *Conversational* and the *Written*. The latter is, in every instance, the more literary and the more exact of the two. The laws of grammar, as we know them today, are based upon written usage" (p. 1). The author is unhappy in his terminology here.

<sup>7</sup> In the *English Journal* (College Edition), xvii, 311 ff. I have discussed in some detail the meanings properly and improperly given to the term "philology."

<sup>8</sup> Mason Long, *A College Grammar*, New York, 1928; pp. vi + 323.

Accuracy would have been better served had he set up the *Formal* and the *Informal* (whether written or spoken) as the two standards of usage. But his point of view is clear enough none the less. And on p. 55 we find an amusing example of the extremes to which his principles lead him. He tells us, "to refer to a child as *it* is contrary to the best usage: I gave *it* (the child) a toy. Use rather: I gave *him* (indeterminate sex) a gift, or: I gave the *child* a gift, [or:] I gave *him* or *her* (determinate sex) a gift." Again, on p. 80 appears the following note: "Avoid the intensive Colloquialism: He had *such* a wonderful time." Mr. Long's discussion of gender is particularly unsatisfactory. I will mention only a few of his mistakes in matters of detail: (p. 14) the definition of "substantive" is hardly sound; (p. 53) the origin of the royal "we" is incorrectly explained; (p. 291) "fulfil" is not an adjective. Section 6 on p. 53 deserves quotation in full: "The form *em*, as in *take 'em*, is derived from *hem*, meaning *he*; therefore *take him* would be the correct equivalent. Modern usage, however, sanctions only the plural *take them* as an equivalent."

It is a pleasure to turn to Professor Dunn's Portuguese grammar.<sup>9</sup> This admirable work is by far the best thing we have in English on the subject, and one of the best things we have in any language. It is a descriptive, not a historical work, although history is brought in a bit now and then. Mr. Dunn makes phonology a prominent and important part of his grammar. His phonetic descriptions are perhaps not so sharp and scientific as one could wish, and his terminology leaves something to be desired (as "guttural" for the velar articulations), but he gives us a good and full treatment of that formidable subject, Portuguese pronunciation, not neglecting the dialects and noting the peculiarities of the speech of Brazil. Morphology and syntax are also done well by, and the author has added an unusual feature: a list of 300 Portuguese proverbs. American scholarship is to be congratulated upon this volume.

A volume of quite another sort is the *How to Talk* of Messrs Clapp and Kane.<sup>10</sup> The subtitle reads, "Meeting the Situations of Personal and Business Life and of Public Address," and sufficiently

<sup>9</sup> Joseph Dunn, *A Grammar of the Portuguese Language*, Washington, 1928; pp. xi + 669.

<sup>10</sup> J. M. Clapp and E. A. Kane, *How to Talk*, New York, 1928; pp. viii + 647.

indicates the nature of most of the work. The authors give very sensible if rather long-drawn-out advice, but their study would hardly come within the province of this journal at all had they not included a section of more than 100 pages on "The Elements of Speech," unfortunately the weakest part of the book. The authors seem particularly ill at ease in the field of phonetics, and they are shaky on the history of the language; thus, on p. 506 we are told that English is a composite of Anglo-Saxon and Norman-French, while on p. 577 the term "sound" is confined to what in orthodox phonetics we call voiced sounds. A book in the same field but much more to the liking of a mere theoretical linguist is *First Principles of Speech Training*, by Miss Avery and others.<sup>11</sup> The work has a much more limited scope than *How-to Talk*, it is true; the authors are interested solely and simply in pronunciation. But both books put the emphasis, not on any scientific description of the facts of speech, but on the use of the knowledge gained by a study of these facts. Miss Avery and her fellows put the matter thus: "the purpose of this book is to present the scientific principles of speech training as a basis for their practical application to the improvement of everyday speech." If the student wants to improve his pronunciation, he can learn what to do and can get some idea of how to do it by studying Miss Avery's book. If however he has no other motive than a scientific curiosity about his articulations, Miss Avery's is not quite the book for him. He might turn to Professor Kurath for a sketch of the peculiarities of the American pronunciation of English.<sup>12</sup> And not in vain, for Mr. Kurath is a vigorous and informed exponent of actual usage. At the same time, his guidance is not altogether safe, since he commits himself too easily to doubtful or even false generalizations. Thus, the reduction of the unstressed final vowel in words like *follow* (p. 283) is not a peculiarity of American English, since it is equally common in England. Moreover, the initial sound in words like *white* is regularly voiced by millions of Americans, in spite of Mr. Kurath's flat statement to the contrary (p. 284). On the same page Mr. Kurath says that "the suffix *-ile* has short *i* in nearly all

<sup>11</sup> E. Avery, J. O. Dorsey and V. A. Sickels, *First Principles of Speech Training*, New York, 1928; pp. xxxviii + 518.

<sup>12</sup> H. Kurath, *American Pronunciation*, S. P. E. Tract No. xxx, Oxford, 1928; pp. 279-297.

words." I must confess I have never heard a "short *i*" in this suffix; I hear either an obscure vowel or no vowel at all. On the other hand, I am accustomed to "short *i*" rather than to [ə] in the weak syllable of *bucket*, *darkness*, *houses*, etc., although I have heard the pronunciation with [ə] as well (p. 285). This [ə] is certainly not Southern, as Mr. Kurath states (pp. 289, 294). Curiously enough, Mr. Kurath does not mention the interesting Southern pronunciation of *r* as "short *i*," to be heard, e. g., in *George*, *forge*.

But truly rigorous, scientific instruction in the phonetic field can of course be had only from the instrumentalists. Easily the most important book of the year in this field is Professor Russell's study of the vowel.<sup>13</sup> To the title the author adds, "its physiological mechanism as shown by X-ray." Mr. Russell's 3,000-odd X-ray pictures of vocalic articulations make him the great authority on the X-ray technique as applied to phonetics, and his book shows that this technique is fundamental in any serious study of the articulations of speech. Mr. Russell attacks vigorously the terminology current in phonetic circles. He makes it clear that such terms as "central vowel, high, mid, low, narrow, wide, close, open, tense, lax" are bad terms, since they do not correspond to the realities of articulation. He prefers terms based on one's acoustic reactions, e. g., "sharp, dull, clear, dead, bright, dark, high-pitched, low-pitched." Mr. Russell's arguments are convincing, but one may be allowed to wish that his English style were better, and that his book had been more carefully organized. The volume swarms with repetitions, and the numerous illustrations are badly distributed in relation to the text and to each other. And, to close on a very small point, in an English book Albertus Magnus ought not to be called Albert le Grand (p. 2).

Professors Pillsbury and Meader have given us a handy manual of linguistic psychology, although the publishers in their "blurb" make for the volume the absurdly false claim that it "offers the first comprehensive study of the psychology of language."<sup>14</sup> The authors begin by trying to define the various fields of linguistic study. This laudable attempt unfortunately led them into giving a

<sup>13</sup> G. O. Russell, *The Vowel*, Columbus, Ohio, 1928; pp. xlv + 353.

<sup>14</sup> W. B. Pillsbury and C. L. Meader, *The Psychology of Language*, New York, 1928; pp. xii + 306.

few definitions highly dubious if not altogether false. Thus, comparative philology includes the comparison of literature, laws, customs and general culture, and is by no means limited to the comparison of languages, either in the theory or in the practice of the scholars active in this field. On the other hand, semantics is not usually considered to include syntax (p. 3). I have found a few other errors of an elementary character. Thus, the authors tell us that a glottal stop is "a brief single explosion caused by . . ." (pp. 57 f.; see also pp. 59 and 222). But a stop is not an explosion; the explosion (if there is any) follows the stop. This simple and obvious point does not seem to be understood by Miss Avery and her fellows either, since they speak of stops or "plosives" and make the frequent false distinction between stops and continuants (p. 85). The whole difficulty would be done away with if these writers could only bring themselves to treat the transition from a stop as a transitional sound or shift, and not as a part of the stop itself. The classification of the sounds of speech which Mr. Pillsbury and Mr. Meader give on pp. 60 ff. of their volume is confused and worthless for the student. Their chapter on the origin of language ignores the theories of Jespersen, who is not even mentioned! Various other defects in the volume might be pointed out, but I will content myself with one more instance: "Modern English *here* was in Old English pronounced as two syllables, the first of which sounded about like Modern American *hay* without the *y*; the second, a trilled *r*" (p. 209). Comment is needless. Obviously the work wants revision, if it is to be accepted as thoroughly trustworthy, although much that is good may be found in its pages.

Professor McKnight's book on Modern English is an admirable popular history,<sup>15</sup> delightfully written and full of unobtrusive learning. Mr. McKnight sketches the history of our speech from the fourteenth century to the present, and he sketches it, not so much in terms of sound-shifts and meaning-shifts as in terms of English civilization. Our language has changed with our general culture, and Mr. McKnight has been chiefly concerned to point out in detail this perpetual intimacy of relationship. In particular he has linked our linguistic with our literary fortunes, and has shown how each change in the literary fashions worked a corre-

<sup>15</sup> G. H. McKnight, *Modern English in the Making*, New York, 1928; pp. xiv + 590.

sponding change in the English language. His book, though designed chiefly for the student and the general reader, has much in it of profit for professional Anglicists, however learned. Not that these will always agree with the author. I have made a longish list of things that do not take my fancy. Thus, I dislike the spelling "moveable" (p. 56), and regret that the author does not make more use of phonetic symbols (see p. 76). The wrong fonts for Old and Middle English make many a page hideous. The spelling *auctour* (p. 74) is learned, not popular. The spelling *rhyme*, though bad, inasmuch as the word comes from the French *rime*, belongs rather with *debt* and *doubt* than with *island* (p. 109). The unrounding of short *o* did not take place in "comparatively recent times" but goes back almost to the beginnings of Modern English (p. 451). New York was colonized some years before Plymouth (p. 466), and the chief settlement of the Huguenots was in South Carolina (p. 467). I cannot agree that the Renaissance is well characterized by such phrases as "free spirit of inquiry" and "revolt from authority" (p. 91); cf. the *imitation* of the classics enjoined by Peter Ramus (p. 94). I regret that the author did not pay more attention to newspaper English—especially headlines—in his study of the field. But in spite of these and other objections that might be raised, Mr. McKnight must be complimented on his book, which, I hope, will be read and enjoyed by every serious student of our speech.

Professor Flasdieck, like Professor McKnight, has studied a linguistic question in the light of English civilization as a whole.<sup>16</sup> Since, however, his subject was a limited one, he has been able to treat it exhaustively and to produce a monograph which will long remain the authoritative work on the point. His conclusions are worth quoting: "Sprachakademien sind Geist vom Geist des Klassizismus. . . . Tief im Engländer verwurzelt sind die irrationalen Instinkte. . . . Rationale Bewusstheit liegt nicht im Wesen dieser Kultur. . . . Rationales Denken ist unenglisch. . . . Rationale Bewusstheit ist unenglisch. . . . England . . . das gottbegnadete Land der Freiheit. . . . Freiheit des Ausdrucks aber ist von der Idee der Freiheit nicht zu trennen. Daher widerspricht eine Sprachakademie der Grundidee englischer Kultur. . . . Nicht be-

<sup>16</sup> H. M. Flasdieck, *Der Gedanke einer englischen Sprachakademie in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Jena, 1928; pp. x + 246.



hördliche Autorität wird anerkannt, sondern die Autorität der Gesellschaft. . . . Autorität der Gesellschaft ersetzt die fehlende Akademie" (pp. 227 ff.). Thus in true German style Mr. Flasdieck ends with an analysis of the "soul" of English civilization. Whether he is right about the English or not, his monograph remains an admirable piece of research, and a fascinating book to read.

Mr. Logan Pearsall Smith in his little essay on needed words undertook a task which Professor Flasdieck would undoubtedly judge fruitless.<sup>17</sup> And yet he writes so intelligently and so sensibly that it is hard to see how even the most irrational of Englishmen could find fault and fear a loss of his linguistic freedom. I note that Mr. Smith avoids bringing up again old stock examples like the German *geschwister* and *mensch*.

I will conclude this survey by calling attention to another survey, made by Professor Callaway.<sup>18</sup> The author discusses a number of recent books and articles in his usual generous but critical fashion. I may point out that the poem printed on pp. 19 f. has no reference to the International Council.

KEMP MALONE.

#### THE ROUND TABLE AGAIN

In an article on "Arthur's Round Table" (*PMLA* xli [1926] 771 ff.) and in another on "The Table of the Last Supper in Religious and Secular Iconography" (*Art Studies* [1927]) the evidence was set forth that from the end of the first century until the twelfth the table of the Last Supper was regularly represented as round, so regularly in fact that no certain example of this scene with the straight table can be found in European art before 1000.<sup>1</sup> The evidence in question was drawn from all the different media of medieval art,—illuminations, frescoes, mosaics, ivories,—and from

<sup>17</sup> L. P. Smith, *Needed Words*, S. P. E. Tract No. xxxi, Oxford, 1928; pp. 313-329.

<sup>18</sup> Morgan Callaway, Jr., *Recent Works in the Field of English Linguistics (1921-1927)*, University of Texas Studies in English, No. 8, 1928; pp. 5-41.

<sup>1</sup> *Art Studies*, p. 82. Philological agreement with the archaeological evidence is afforded by such a study of the European words derived from

practically all parts of Europe. It seemed, therefore, to offer a legitimate basis for the conclusion that this pictured round table of Christ, which differed so conspicuously from the actual straight trestle table of ordinary medieval usage, must have acquired a special significance, a special association with the holiest, to the Christian mind, of human fellowships. In this was found the explanation for its transference to Arthur when the exploitation of Arthur, as the greatest of Christian kings, the rival of Charlemagne, became the business of twelfth-century story-tellers. The attempt to present new evidence and to answer certain queries and objections will, it is hoped, bring about some further elucidation of the problem.

The new evidence is not archaeological in character but comes entirely from historical facts and documents. So far as literature is concerned we need remember only the undeniable facts that in the metrical *Joseph d'Arimathie* the Grail table, and in the prose *Merlin* the Round Table, are definitely associated with the table of the Last Supper.<sup>2</sup> If this was done at the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century by the authors of these texts, there is no inherent improbability in supposing that some one else might have made the same association in the early years of the twelfth century. More particularly the assumption will seem probable if it can be established that numerous Bretons in the eleventh century had opportunity to know at first hand the holy relic that in Jerusalem was exhibited as the table of the Last Supper.

Fist Artus la Roonde Table  
Dont Breton dient mainte fable.

In these famous lines Wace for the first time refers to the table of Arthur. Now it should be clear that contemporary Bretons of Wace's own day, no matter how much of pagan Celtic lore they

*mensa* and *discus* as that of R. Meringer, *Sitzungsberichte d. K. Akad. d. Wissensch. in Wien*, 1901, pp. 73-85. Professor Meyer-Lübke, to whom I am indebted for this reference, believes that *tabula* and its derivatives replaced *mensa* in various Romance languages because it was used with reference to the trestle table with removable top, the "board" of the English, which was the type of table in common use.

<sup>2</sup> Metrical *Joseph*, ed. Nitze (Paris, 1927), v. 2491; Huth *Merlin*, ed. Paris, I, 95; Vulgate *Lestoire de Merlin*, ed. Sommer, II, 53-54.

had preserved or acquired, were no less Christian than Wace himself and no less concerned, in any glorification of Arthur, in presenting him, as Nennius had done in Wales, as Geoffrey of Monmouth and Wace himself were doing, as the glorious Christian hero or king. Since the sixth century the Bretons had been, and for that matter still are, among the most devout members of the Catholic Church. They had numerous and richly endowed churches<sup>3</sup> in which, unless these differed from all other European churches, there were frescoes and illuminated Gospels in which one of the most famous episodes of Christian tradition, the institution of the Eucharist, must have been represented.

But the possibility is less interesting than the evidence of the pious interest, the actual journeys of eleventh century Bretons, to Jerusalem and Rome where, as will presently be shown, they could have seen with their own eyes, or have heard numerous accounts of the famous *mensa rotunda Christi*.

In 1008 Duke Geoffroi of Brittany went to Rome to pray at the tomb of the apostles and there is some slight reason to believe he even went on to Jerusalem.<sup>4</sup> A few years later Bishop Gautier of Nantes made the Jerusalem journey.<sup>5</sup> Of far greater importance was the departure in 1096 of Alain Fergant and a "notable list of Bretons" on the First Crusade.<sup>6</sup> Going to Italy, stopping at Bari, where it seems probable that, in regaling themselves with stories of Arthur and Guinevere, they gave the clue to the sculptor who carved the Arthurian archivolt of Modena Cathedral,<sup>7</sup> they at last went on to the Holy Land, where they fought for five years. Some of them were certainly present on that day of days when the Crusaders rushed through the blood-stained streets of Jerusalem and, as an eyewitness, the author of the *Gesta Francorum* (ed. B. A. Lees [1924], p. 90, 143) describes it:

<sup>3</sup> Arthur de la Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne*, II, ch. 12; III, p. 14, gifts to Rennes; p. 26, to Cathedral de St. Corentin; p. 32 to Quimperlé, to Rennes; p. 33 to Lohéac, etc.

<sup>4</sup> De la Borderie, III, 5; Le Baud, *Hist.*, Bibl. Nat., Ms. fr. 8266, f. 140, suggests the pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

<sup>5</sup> De la Borderie, III, 9.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 32; C. W. David, *Robert Curthose* (1920), p. 94.

<sup>7</sup> R. S. Loomis, in *Medieval Studies in Memory of Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis* (Paris and N. Y., 1927), pp. 209-28; Kingsley Porter and R. S. Loomis, *Gaz. des Beaux Arts*, Oct. 1928, pp. 109-122.

Venerunt autem omnes nostri gaudentes et prae nimio gaudio plorantes ad nostri Saluatoris Iesu Sepulchrum adorandum.

In the *Historia Hierosolimitana*, written between 1106 and 1107 by Archbishop Baudri of Dol,<sup>8</sup> there are specific references to the sanctity of the place associated with the last Supper. In describing the siege of Jerusalem (ed. Migne, *Patrologia*, v. 166, col. 1139) he wrote: "a meridie obsedit eam comes Sancti Ægidii, videlicet in monte Sion, circa ecclesiam beatissimae Dei genetricis Mariae, ubi Dominus Jesus cum suis coenavit discipulis." In another place (col. 1142) the Crusaders are exhorted to remember they are before that holy city "in hac Christianismus Deus instituit; ex hac Christianitatis sacramentum ad nos usque emanavit." In 1101, when for the most part the Bretons came home, they brought with them not only inspired memories of the Holy Land but also actual memorials, a bit of the true Cross, a fragment of the Holy Sepulchre. On June 29 these relics in the midst of a vast concourse of people were deposited in the new church of Lohéac.<sup>9</sup>

From these historical details concerning the piety of eleventh century Bretons and the first-hand knowledge which some of them possessed of Jerusalem itself and its holy relics, we may turn to the pilgrim literature of the Middle Ages for references to the relic known as the table of the Last Supper. One of the most important of these references was very kindly pointed out to the writer by Professor James Westfall Thompson. It is from the Itinerary of Bernard the Wise,<sup>10</sup> a French monk who journeyed to Jerusalem about 870. In describing the Church in the Garden of Gethsemane, he wrote:

In ipso etiam loco est ecclesia in quo Dominus traditus est; habet quatuor mensas rotundas cœnæ ipsius.

In the much earlier account of Arculf,<sup>11</sup> one that dates from about 670, there is a passage which seems to indicate that even

<sup>8</sup> For bibliography concerning the learned Breton and his works see P. Abrahams, *Les Oeuvres de Baudri de Bourgueil* (Paris, 1926), pp. xx-xxiv.

<sup>9</sup> De la Borderie, III, 33; David, *op. cit.*, p. 227, from *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Redon*.

<sup>10</sup> Tobler, *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae* (Leipzig, 1874), p. 85; also in English translation, *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Soc.* (London, 1897), III, 8 (Bernard).

<sup>11</sup> *Itinera Hierosolymitana* (Adamnanus), in vol. 39, p. 242, of the

then, in a cave on Mount Olivet near the Church of St. Mary, he viewed the tables which were subsequently shown to Bernard. It reads:

In eadem ergo spelunca quatuor insunt lapideae mensae, quarum una est iuxta introitum speluncae ab intus sita domini Iesu, cui procul dubio mensulae sedes ipsius adhaeret, ubi cum duodenis apostolis simul ad alias mensas ibidem habitas sedentibus et ipse conuiua aliquando recumbere saepe solitus erat.

Arculf was from France. On his return home he was carried by a storm to Scotland and ultimately, at Iona, told the tale of his wanderings to the holy Adamnan, who wrote down the precious narrative. This was the account known to and used by Bede.<sup>12</sup> In other words, as early as seventh century we have a Frenchman, an Irishman, and an Englishman interested in the tables associated with Christ and the apostles. Bernard's account proves that these same tables, or their replicas, had by the ninth century become the tables "coenae ipsius." In a still later account, that of Sæwulf in 1102, a year later than the date at which we know Jerusalem relics were offered in Brittany by just returned Crusaders, we have the statement that the marble table on which Christ ate His Last Supper was still shown to pilgrims.<sup>13</sup> We could hardly ask for a plainer indication of the history of a relic, or a more positive proof that it was known to the special group with which we are concerned. Inspired by the sight in some cases, by the story of it in others, pious Bretons at the beginning of the twelfth century were unquestionably in a position to transfer to their hero Arthur the table that was associated with the holiest of human fellowships. In so doing they would simply be paralleling the tellers of Carolingian story who gave the Twelve Peers to Charlemagne in memory of the twelve apostles. The combination of the Christian *mensa rotunda* with Celtic Arthur would likewise be no stranger than that effected in the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, in which the Christian Emperor visits a round whirling Otherworld palace, where he lies, in precisely the manner of the legendary King Conchobar of

Vienna *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*, 1898, also under Arculf, *Pal. Pilgrims' Texts Soc.*, III, 18.

<sup>12</sup> *Liber de Locis Sanctis*, *Corpus*, op. cit. 39, 323; *Pal. Pilg. Texts Soc.*, III, 87.

<sup>13</sup> *Pal. Pilg. Texts Soc.*, IV (1897), p. 20, under Sæwulf.

Ireland, in a carbuncle-lighted room, on a bed surrounded by the twelve couches of his peers, yet goes from all this to bring back to St. Denis the holy relics which he had already obtained at Jerusalem.<sup>14</sup>

The theory of the Celtic origin of the Round Table has been urged so often and is held so tenaciously by some scholars,<sup>15</sup> that it seems well to emphasize certain reasons, altogether apart from the evidence given above, which, to the present writer, at least, make it improbable that non-Christian Celtic custom or tradition had any thing to do with Wace's concept of the Round Table. Arthur's fellowship as a fighting, but not a fraternal body, the times of his great feasts, the Perilous Seat, and a number of other concepts may be admitted as probably of Celtic origin. Such concepts were attracted at various times into the legend of the Round Table precisely as stories of non-Arthurian heroes were grafted into the cycle. But to assume that the table itself, or the ideal fraternity of its fellowship rose from Celtic sources is, it would appear, altogether unlikely.

For one thing, the fact, and therefore, the idea of a communal table seems essentially foreign to the Celts. Sir John Rhys long ago pointed out (*Arthurian Legend*, p. 9) that there is no reference in any old Irish story to a communal table. So rarely are tables of any sort mentioned in old Irish that O'Curry, in his *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, did not even enter the word in that General Index in which appears almost everything that pertained to their life. Joyce in his *Social History of Ancient Ireland* (1903, II, 105, 110-111), uses the words *at table* indiscriminately for *at meals*. He illustrates the small individual willow table (5 inches high, 28 inches long, 16 inches broad) found in a Tyrone bog, but admits that the people generally had no tables at all at their meals. He refers to the specific statement of Giraldus Cambrensis in his *Description of Wales*, Ch. X, that even in his twelfth-century day tables were unknown in Welsh households. This, it may be noted, is probably the reason, rather than mere chance omission, that, in

<sup>14</sup> T. P. Cross and L. Hibbard Loomis, *Mod. Phil.* xxv (1928), 331 ff.

<sup>15</sup> For bibliography see *PMLA*, xli, 771-774. Cf. *Mod. Phil.*, xxvi, 242; "Since the account of Wace is the oldest and since it purports to be Celtic in origin, the theory that Arthur's Round Table is of Celtic origin still has the right of way."



the early twelfth century Welsh story of *Kulhwch and Olwen*, the Round Table, supposing that the Bretons were already telling tales of it, was not listed among the other famous possessions of Arthur. If, like the ancient Irish, the Welsh were still unfamiliar with the use of tables, it is no wonder they had nothing to say about Arthur's table.

The supposed derivation of the Round Table from pagan Celtic sources commonly rests on the evidence of Posidonius and Layamon.<sup>16</sup> The first was a Greek, writing about 90 B. C. He told of the Celtic custom of eating in a circle at low wooden tables, of the hero's place in the middle, of the brawls over precedence at the feasts. We must note that Posidonius was here writing of Celts in Gaul, people who were considerably nearer to Roman influence than were the Celts of Ireland, Wales, or Brittany. We must also remember the fact, already noted, that in old Irish tales, however much medievalized, tables are conspicuous by their absence. However reliable as to the circle, the feasts, the brawls of the Gallic Celts, the evidence of the cultivated Greek traveller is somewhat less trustworthy, it would appear, in this manner of tables.

Layamon's account (cir. 1205) of the Founding of the Round Table is no longer believed to have been drawn from Welsh but presumably from Breton tradition.<sup>17</sup> Its essential similarity in barbarity of manners, in turbulence of spirit, to the Old Irish stories of Fights at Feasts, was happily pointed out some years ago by Professor A. C. L. Brown (*op. cit.*). The fact that Wace, though he does not tell the story, uses the name *Romarec de Guenelande* (or *Venelande*) which appears in Layamon as *Rumaret of Winetlande*, would seem to suggest that Wace may likewise have known the brawl story.<sup>18</sup> But, as the brawl story existed in Irish without the slightest mention of a table, there is no reason why it should not have done so among the Bretons. The last thing that the turbulent and tableless Irish or Welsh would have conceived of or transmitted to the Bretons was the story of a great dining-table, much less of one that put an end to fights and implied, in direct antithesis to everything that lent gusto to heroic strife for pre-

<sup>16</sup> A. C. L. Brown, "The Round Table before Wace," *Harvard Studies Phil. Lit.*, VII, 183 ff.

<sup>17</sup> Bruce, *Evolution of Arth. Romance*, I, 84.

<sup>18</sup> Brown, *op. cit.* p. 201.

cedence, the strange and foreign ideas of peace and fraternity. For these reasons, then, it would seem unwise to continue to insist on the Celtic provenance of the Round Table whether as a table or an institution.

In his recent book on *Arthur of Britain* (1927), Sir Edmund Chambers offers, as an alternative to the theory just discussed, the possibility that "li conteur who were fashioning Arthur's court on the model of Charlemagne's were recalling the episode in the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, where the pilgrims find the church of the Last Supper with twelve seats and in the midst a thirteenth, in which the emperor seats himself with the twelve peers about him." Apart from the fact that this account finds no corroboration in pilgrim literature, that it was apparently simply an invention of the author's, possibly inspired by a passage in the Constantinople part of his story,<sup>19</sup> it should at least be evident that here again there is no parallel for a table, round or otherwise, nor for the concept of equal fraternity. In short, the passage has no significance whatever for the Arthurian Round Table.

In conclusion, however, a tentative suggestion may be offered, which perhaps explains the linking of such divergent concepts as those associated with Christ and with Celtic Arthur. The association was not made, it would seem, because popular tradition had endowed Arthur with a table, magic, or round or anything else, but because he, like Christ, and like many heroes of classic and especially of pagan Celtic antiquity, may have been connected with a fellowship of twelve. The pre-Christian groups of Twelves are almost overwhelming in their number and diversity. In a recent article in *Mod. Phil.* xxv (1928), 342 ff., some of the evidence for the pagan Celtic Twelve was indicated. In Arthurian romance this same group fellowship appears, as the writer hopes shortly to point out elsewhere, in an extraordinary number of instances, which, short of actual parody, can have no relation to the Christian Twelve. Like the old Irish god, Crom Cruaich with his twelve subordinate deities, like King Conchobar with his twelve chief heroes of Ulster, like Lugaid Noes with his twelve underkings of Munster, like Finn and the twelve men "that used to be with Finn in his house,"<sup>20</sup> it

<sup>19</sup> *Mod. Phil.* xxv, 344.

<sup>20</sup> For the Finn reference see "Fianaigecht," ed. Meyer, *Roy. Ir. Acad. Todd Lecture Series*, xvi (1910), 79; for the others *Mod. Phil.*, xxv, 345 ff.

is possible that Celtic Arthur was connected with groups of twelve, the same Arthur who was supposed by Nennius to have fought twelve Herculean battles and in the Merlin romances to have slain twelve pagan kings. The Grail romances refer not infrequently to the twelve knights of the Round Table, a bit of evidence which one might discount, were it not for the pagan Celtic Twelve and their persistence in various Arthurian romances and likewise, it would seem, in the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*. Since in old Irish tales the ancient and possibly mythic number twelve was sometimes displaced by favorite triadic numbers such as thrice fifty, since in such obviously Christianized romances as Robert de Boron's *Merlin*, the author deliberately changed the number of seats at the Round Table, avowedly made in commemoration of the Apostolic table, to fifty, it can occasion no surprise that the number of Arthur's fellowship varied from twelve to fifty, to thrice fifty, and even, in Layamon's account, became sixteen hundred. The supposition that Arthur, like these other heroes of Celtic legend that have just been enumerated, was once associated with an entirely non-Christian group of twelve, cannot, of course, be proved, but, in view of such evidence as there is, it cannot be too lightly dismissed. In the Huth *Merlin* (I, 263) and in Malory (II, c. II), who used the same source, twelve rebel kings are slain by Arthur; in the Vulgate *Merlin* (ed. Sommer, II, 387, 408) the twelve became his friends and subjects and share in the feast with him, as did King Conchobar's twelve Ultonian heroes. Since it appears that even the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, in the Constantinople episode,<sup>21</sup> shows the influence of this particular Irish group and of other heroes as truculent, it is the more likely that Arthurian traditions, flowing so much more directly from Celtic sources, preserved likewise some reminiscence of the Celtic Twelve, the gods and heroes of Celtic heathendom.

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<sup>21</sup> "That Conchobar's twelve, like Charlemagne's, lie in a carbuncle-lighted room, that their beds encircle one more magnificent than all, is a correspondence no one can attribute to chance." *Mod. Phil.*, XXV, 349. The whirling round palace, the Otherworld landscape, the gabs and feats of the Twelve Peers, were all, probably, in the Constantinople episode, of Canto iii and note to stanza 10.

## OHG ADEILO AND GILOUBO

The OHG adjectives *adeilo* 'imparticeps, expers,' an exocentric compound with the base *deil* 'pars,' and *giloubo* 'having faith, believing,' a decomposition of *ungiloubo* (itself an exocentric compound with base *giloubo* 'fides'), are used by Otfrid with weak inflection only and occur once each in a crystallized *-o* form. Thus *adeilo* occurs as nom. plural in I, 1.115:

*nu uuill ih scriban unser keil euangeliono deil  
so uuir nu hiar digunnun, in frenkisga zungun,  
thaz sie ni uuesan eino thes selben adeilo*

and *giloubo* is found as acc. sing. in IV, 13.28:

*ni si thir in githanke, thaz ih thir io giuuenke,  
druhtin min liobo, thes duan ih thih giloubo.*

In the first passage Erdmann, ed. *Otfrid* (*Germ. Handbibl.* v, Halle 1882) p. 343, takes *eino* and *adeilo* to be adverbs. His argument is weakened, however, by his uncertain interpretation of *einon* and *adeilon* in the similar passage II, 9.4:

*Thoh uuill ih es mit uuillen hiar ethesuuaz irzellen,  
thaz uuir ni uuerden einon thero goumano adeilon (F. ateilo).*

On p. 343 he regards the two forms as weak adjectives, while on p. 396 *adeilon* is treated as an adverbial dative. Kelle, *Formen- und Lautlehre der Sprache Otfrids*, II (ed. 1869), p. 373, note 2, also regards the two forms in I, 1.115 as adverbs and calls attention to the striking use of *adeilo*. He points out that in II, 9.4 Otfrid uses the plural forms *einon* and *adeilon* and is of the opinion that Otfrid in the former passage used *eino*, an adverbial form, and then placed *adeilo* to rime with it. But Otfrid nowhere uses an adverb with a genitive supplement as predicative complement of *uuesan*. It is strange, that this peculiar usage should be restricted to this unusual word. On *eino* cf. Behaghel, *Deutsche Syntax* I (1923), 412.

Neither can this form be regarded as a nom. plural with the loss of final *-n*. Isolated examples of loss of final *-n* occur in F, a Ms. of the early tenth century, which is not reliable, as it contains several mistakes due to carelessness, as well as numerous intentional alterations; cf. Kelle, p. 514. However, loss of final *-n*

is assumed in about 20 passages in Otfrid, cf. Ingenbleek, *Über den Einfluss des Reimes auf die Sprache Otfrids* (QF 37, Strassburg 1880), pp. 8.9, and Erdmann *ad* I, 3.37. But all of these cases fall into special categories which can be otherwise accounted for, cf. Bloomfield, *JEGP*, Oct., 1929.

In the second passage Erdmann, p. 447, again is uncertain as to the character of the unusual form *giloubo*. He finds it impossible to regard *giloubo* as the required accusative, and contents himself with passing it off as an analogical transference from expressions as *thu bist giloubo*, *sist giloubo*. Piper's view of this peculiar form (*Otfrid's Evangelienbuch* 1<sup>2</sup>, 1882, *ad loc.*) is untenable. He makes it appear that the phenomenon of an acc. or plural form of a weak-only adjective without final -n is quite common in Otfrid, by adducing as parallels *gero*, *kundo*, *scolo*, *uuzo*, and *anauuart*, *giuuar*, *uuis*. However, there is not a single example of any of these words occurring as acc. or plural without final -n; *anauuart* presents no parallel, as it is uninflected in every case; *uuis* appears frequently in the formal expression *uuis duan* 'kundig machen,' but nowhere is it used predicatively with weak inflection. In fact, there are no parallels to these two unusual forms *adeilo* and *giloubo* in Otfrid.

These forms can be satisfactorily explained without regarding the words as anything else than what they are clearly shown to be in their other occurrences, namely substantivized adjectives. In addition to the two examples (I, 1.115 and II, 9.4) cited above, *adeilo* also occurs at II, 7.26:

*imo ilt er sar gisagen thaz, uuant er mo liobosto uuas,  
thaz er ni uurti heilo thero frumono adeilo*

and at v, 23.123:

*adeilo thu es ni bist, uuio in buachon siu gilobot ist*

while *giloubo*, besides the instance cited above (iv, 13.28), is found at I, 18.7:

*ni bist es io giloubo, selbo thu iz ni scouo*

III, 23.8, 24: *thes sist thu mir giloubo*

v, 22.11:

*uuio sconi thar in himile ist, thu es io giloubo ni bist*

and in v, 23.227:

*thu uuirdist mir giloubo, selbo thu iz bisouuo.*

Otfrid uses *adeilo* and *giloubo* only in the predicate with weak inflection, without the article. They take the genitive case of a noun or pronoun as supplement, except only at v, 23.227: *thu uuirdist mir giloubo*. This is true also of the two forms under discussion. Therefore the various views adduced above regarding the character of these forms fall short of a satisfactory explanation. Much more reasonable is the statement of Braune, *Althochd. Gram.*<sup>3-4</sup> § 255, anm. 2: "Bei O kommen einige halb substantivierte adjectiva nur schwach im praedicativen gebrauche vor, so *gero, wizzo, giloubo, adeilo*. Nach analogie der st. adj. (vgl. § 247 u. a. 1) behandeln sie die singularformen als unflectierte und übertragen sie in den pl. und in den acc." Otfrid frequently uses the uninflected form of the strong adjectives as predicate both in the sing. and in the plural, in all genders, e. g. i, 17.61: *thes guates uuaron sie bald*, iv, 34.12: *thez uuir nu birun blidi*, i, 1.12: *sie duent iz filu suazi*, iii, 25.18: *duent unsih elilenti* 'machen uns heimatlos.' For other examples cf. Kelle, *op. cit.*, p. 296 ff., and Gross, *Gebrauch des schwachen und starken Adjectivs bei Otfrid* (Diss. Heidelberg 1913), p. 24. Now he uses the -o form of the weak adjective in the same way, as an uninflected form. In other words, Otfrid could say either *sie uuaron thes adeilon* or *sie uuaron thes adeilo*, either *ih duan thih thes giloubon* or *ih duan thih thes giloubo*. When F. writes *ateilo* in ii, 9.4, leaving *einon* unaltered and destroying the rime, it seems that for Sigihart (early tenth century Bavarian) the uninflected form had become normal in the plural,—unless here again (cf. above) the absence of final -n is merely a scribal error. Note the substantival -on (Braune, *l. c.*, § 255, n. 1).

The use of *adeilo* and *giloubo* is not restricted to Otfrid, however. The following occurrences of *adeilo* are found in the Glosses:

Strong: NSM *ateiler*: 'expers' (St.-S. II, 729.15) 11th Cent.

NPM *ateile*: 'expertes' (St.-S. II, 479.48) 11th Cent.

*adeile*: 'expertes' (St.-S. II, 23.63) 9th-10th Cent.

Weak: NSM *ateilo uuas*: 'expers erat' (St.-S. II, 734.19) 9th Cent.

*ateilin*: 'expers' (St.-S. II, 7.38) 10th Cent.

Its equivalent in OE is *ordæle*, of which the following examples are listed in Bosworth-Toller, *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*:



Strong: NSM *ordāle*: 'expers,' *Anecd. Oxon.* (ed. Napier, 1900), 3286. 11th Cent.

*ordāle*: 'expers,' Wright *Vocab.* (1857) ii. 31, 48; 90, 67. 11th Cent.

Weak: NSM *ordāla*: 'expers,' *Anglo-Saxon and OE Vocab.* by Thos. Wright, 2nd ed. by R. P. Wülcker, London (1884), 232, 23.

Its converse is OHG *giteilo*, weak only, occurring three times in Notker (ed. Piper, 1883):

II, 44.8: *oleo letitie pre consortibus tuis . . . fore dinen geteilon.*

II, 88.21: *Ih salbota in oleo exsultationis . . . pre participibus suis . . . mit olee frouuelungo ferror danne andre sine geteilen.*

II, 118.63: *Particeps ego sum omnium timentium te . . . nu sprichet christus ad patrem sament sinemo corpore . . . keteilo bin ih allero die dih furhtent.*

and once in the Glosses:

*epangiteilun*: 'consortem' (St.-S. II, 270.42)

No other examples of *giloubo* are to be found, but its converse *ungiloubo* (cf. above) occurs four times in Isidor (Hench, *QF* 72):

7.2: *sagheen nu dhea unchilaubun*; *Monsee Fragments* (ed. Hench, Strassburg 1890), 34.23: *sagen nu dea ungalaubun.*

13.10: *dhes sindun unchilaubun iudeo liudi*; *Mons.* 35.29: *des sintun . ungalaubun . iudeo liuti.*

28.14: *dher unchilaubo fraghet* 'incredulus'.

42.7: *dhero unchilaubono muotuuillun* 'infidelium'

An OE equivalent *\*gelēaf* does not occur, while *ungelēaf* is found several times. Bosworth-Toller cite the following examples:

*ne magon ðær eard niman ungeleafe menn* 'qui non credunt inhabitare in eo,' *Libri psalm. versio antiqua Latina*, ed. B. Thorpe, Oxon. (1835) 67, 19.

*þa ongan he beon eallunga ungeleaf þæt he hit wære* 'ipsum hunc esse coepit omnino non credere,' *Übers. der Dialoge Greg. d. Gr.*, ed. Hecht, Leipzig (1900), 46, 12.

The non-occurrence of *\*gelēaf* in OE as opposed to the common

use of *ungelēaf* seems to indicate that the OHG *giloubo* is a later development; that *ungiloubo* was the original compound formed from the noun *gilouba*, and *giloubo* decomposed from this form. The compound *ungiloubo* is found in 8th century documents, while *giloubo* does not appear until the latter half of 9th century.

To be sure, there is in OE literature also a form *unlēf*:

*For þu art unlēf mine worde. þu schalt beo dumb forte þat child beo boren, 'non credidisti verbis meis.' OE Homil., ed. R. Morris, E. E. T. S. v. 29 (1893), ii. 125, 24.*

*þalle ower leasunges beoð unlēfliche. Leg. of St. Kather. of Alex., ed. James Morton, London (1841), l. 345.*

This OE *unlēf* might conceivably represent an exocentric compound *\*un-lauba-*, formed from *un-* plus a noun *\*lauba-*, and *\*ga-lauba-* similarly an exocentric compound of this *\*lauba-*, but as OE *unlēf* occurs only in the 12th and 13th centuries, it bears little weight.

In spite of the strong forms of *adeilo* in the late Glosses, the weak-only use of *adeilo* and *giloubo* may well be ancient; the exclusively weak inflection of some adjectives is a phenomenon of the Germanic languages; cf. Streitberg, *Gotisches Elementarbuch*,<sup>5-6</sup> Heidelberg (1920), p. 130.183 f., Wessén, *Zur Geschichte der Germanischen N-Deklination*, Uppsala (1914), p. 2 ff., Behaghel, *Deutsche Syntax* (1923), I, 220 f., PBB 43, 153 ff., Jellinek, *Anz. fdA.* 32, p. 7, *Zfda.* 50, p. 7 f., Wilmanns, *Deutsche Gram.*<sup>2</sup> III, 2, p. 754 ff., Sturtevant, A. M., *On the weak inflection of the Pred. Adj.*, JEGP. 21, 452 f.

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#### A NOTE ON THE PUBLICATION OF KLEIST'S KÄTHCHEN VON HEILBRONN

On January 12, 1810, Heinrich von Kleist sent a manuscript of *Das Käthchen von Heilbronn* to the publisher Johann Friedrich Cotta. Some eighteen months previously Cotta had agreed to print the drama, but with the stipulation that he was not to deter-

mine the amount of the author's honorarium until a year after the publication of the play.<sup>1</sup> When subsequently informed by Cotta that the printing could not take place during the year 1810, Kleist wrote on April first of the same year, requesting that his manuscript be returned.<sup>2</sup> In a letter of August 10, 1810, the dramatist then asked Georg Andreas Reimer of Berlin whether he cared to undertake the printing of the drama. In part this letter reads as follows:

Wollen Sie mein Drama, das Käthchen von Heilbronn, zum Druck übernehmen? Es ist den 17<sup>ten</sup> 18<sup>ten</sup> und 19<sup>ten</sup> März, auf dem Theater an der Wien, während der Vermählungsfeierlichkeiten, zum Erstenmal gegeben, und auch seitdem häufig, wie mir Freunde sagen, wiederholt worden. . . . Auch der Moniteur und mehrere andere Blätter, haben darüber Bericht erstattet.<sup>3</sup>

Obviously, this reference to the *Moniteur* was made with the aim of impressing Reimer. As it happens, however, the statement appearing in the Paris journal is anything but complimentary. On Wednesday, May 2, 1810, the *Gazette Nationale ou le Moniteur Universel* had printed the following item as emanating from Vienna on the 17<sup>th</sup> of April:

On s'occupe maintenant du projet d'établir dans le faubourg de Josephstadt un nouveau théâtre qui doit être très-magnifique. Le baron de Braun est à la tête de cette entreprise, qui fera époque dans les annales des théâtres de Vienne. Le fameux Schifaneder, qui est le favori du public de Vienne, a pris des engagements comme auteur dramatique du nouveau théâtre. Les autres entrepreneurs emploient au surplus tous les moyens pour attirer un nombreux public. Depuis deux mois on y a représenté beaucoup de nouvelles pièces, dont quelques-unes cependant, telles que *Catherine de Heilbronn* par Kleist; *Rochus-Pombernikel*, la *Famille Pumber-nikel*, etc., sont au-dessous de toute critique, quoiqu'elles attirent chaque fois un nombre immense de spectateurs.

On a donné avec succès, pour la première fois, la *Fiancée de Messine*, tragédie de Schiller. *Guillaume Tell* est aussi annoncé.

(*Courrier de l'Europe.*)

The *Moniteur* had reprinted this news item from another Paris daily newspaper whose complete title was *Courrier de l'Europe et des Spectacles, et Mémorial Européen réunis*. The account in the

<sup>1</sup> H. v. Kleists Werke, im Verein mit Georg Minde-Pouet und Reinhold Steig herausgegeben von Erich Schmidt, Leipzig & Wien, Bibliographisches Institut, 1904-05, p. 393 f.

<sup>2</sup> P. 397 f.

<sup>3</sup> P. 399 f.

latter journal was published on Monday, April 30, 1810, and differs from that reproduced in the *Moniteur* only in a minor detail that has no bearing on Kleist's drama.

Reimer published *Das K  thchen von Heilbronn* in 1810. Kleist, who was in financial straits, had declared his readiness to accept eighty or even sixty Thaler if only Reimer would print the drama by Michaelmas.<sup>4</sup> On the following day he wrote asking Reimer, in view of the hard times, to give anything he chose, provided only that it be given at once.<sup>5</sup> He finally received seventy-five Reichsthaler.<sup>6</sup>

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## TWO SPENSER NOTES

### 1. *Florimell, Proteus, and Helen.*

In support of Gough's suggestion<sup>1</sup> that Spenser's figures of the true and false Florimell may have owed something to the Stesichorean version of the story of Helen it might be pointed out that Euripides' play gives also a hint for the rather puzzling part played by Proteus in Spenser's poem. Florimell, as Professor Padelford shows,<sup>2</sup> is Spenser's 'special embodiment . . . of Beauty,' as Amoret is of grace and charm and Belpheobe of chastity. The false Florimell who is created by the witch to solace her loutish son and who thereafter plays so large a part in the story of the third and fourth Books is, of course, false beauty, the beauty of outward show without the inward beauty of the spirit. Helen likewise is the embodiment of the idea of female beauty in Greek legend. According to Euripides, the Helen that made so much trouble for Greece and Troy (compare the quarrels that arise over the false Florimell, *F. Q.*, iv, ii and v) was but a 'phantom, out of cloudland wrought' by Hera to deceive Paris, and vanishes

<sup>4</sup> P. 400 f.

<sup>5</sup> P. 401.

<sup>6</sup> P. 483.

<sup>1</sup> *The Faerie Queene, Book V* (Clarendon Press), introductory note to Canto iii and note to stanza 10.

<sup>2</sup> *JEGPh.*, xvi, 72.

into thin air (just as the false Florimell does, v, iii, 24) when the true Helen is restored. Spenser has sharpened his allegory by making his false Florimell out of snow. As Gough points out, Spenser might have got the suggestion either from Plato (*Republic*, ix, 10) or from Euripides. If, as seems to me probable, Spenser's treatment of Proteus is prompted by the part played by Proteus and his house in the *Helen*, we have additional evidence of the influence of Euripides upon Spenser.

The rôle of Proteus in Book III of *The Faerie Queene* is somewhat disconcerting.<sup>3</sup> In Canto iv he is the somewhat benevolent elderly adviser of Marinell's mother, and in Canto vii (stanzas 29-36) he rescues Florimell from the assault of the old fisherman. Then suddenly he becomes himself the persecutor of Florimell's chastity, and when she repulses his advances shuts her up in his dungeon (stanzas 38-41), where she remains until (iv, xii) Marinell, during the marriage feast of the Thames and the Medway in Proteus' hall, overhears her lamentations and her avowal of undying love and is thereby converted from his insensibility, and so she is joined at last to her first and only love.

It has already been pointed out<sup>4</sup> that Ariosto, immediately after that story of Angelica and the *mago* which was supposed by Upton to have afforded Spenser the hint for the scene of Florimell and the fisherman (*O. F.* viii, 44 ff.; *F. Q.* iii, viii, 20 ff.), begins the story of the Irish orc with an account of Proteus' amour with the princess of Ebuda. Altho Proteus has nothing directly to do with Angelica, it is perhaps conceivable that Spenser was prompted by the mere juxtaposition of the two stories in Ariosto to make

<sup>3</sup> It may of course be said that Spenser is merely following out his allegory consistently: Florimell, as the type of sheer helpless female loveliness, must arouse desire in all who see her, from witch's oaf to sea-god—except Marinell, whose allegorical function (see W. F. DeMoss's discussion of this matter, *Mod. Phil.* xvi, 252 ff.) is to represent insensibility, one of the two extremes between which chastity is the mean.

<sup>4</sup> By Koepfel, *Herrig's Archiv*, cvii, 394 ff. Koepfel is here arguing that the old fisherman's assault upon Florimell was suggested not by Ariosto's story of Angelica and the hermit, as Upton thought, but by the story of Britomartis as told in the *Metamorphoses* of Antoninus Liberalis; tho he considers it likely that Ariosto is responsible for the *age* of the fisherman in Spenser, of which there is no indication in Antoninus.

Proteus the last in the series of Florimell's persecutors. But the part played by Proteus and his house in Euripides is a good deal closer to Spenser's story.

Zeus, Helen tells, when he learned that Paris was coming to claim the reward promised him by Aphrodite, had Hermes carry her away to Egypt, Proteus' realm,

Of all men holding him [Proteus] most continent,  
That I might keep me pure for Menelaus. (Way's trans.)

After the death of Proteus, however, his son and successor woos Helen, and when he finds her faithful to her husband's memory brings a tyrant's pressure to bear upon her, as Proteus does upon Florimell. The rescue of Helen by Menelaus constitutes the plot of the play. Thus Proteus and his son play successively the parts played in Spenser by Proteus alone.

Like the bee in Swift's apologue, Spenser gathered his matter wherever he found it; his honey is compounded of many simples. Professor Mackail has declared<sup>5</sup> that "even for traces of any influence on him [Spenser] from Homer, from the Greek lyrists, or from the Attic tragedians we may search through him in vain." In view of the Homeric influences in Book II pointed out by Miss Winstanley, and perhaps of the item suggested here, this seems to be too sweeping a statement.

## 2. *Britomart's Nurse.*

W. F. DeMoss, in his very interesting study of "Spenser's Twelve Moral Virtues,"<sup>6</sup> says that Spenser draws 'the virtues and vices which he discusses in connection with Chastity' from Aristotle, who in his analysis of Temperance includes 'a curious discussion of brutality, or unnatural vice,' and adds: 'This fact throws light on an otherwise difficult passage in the *Faerie Queene*, namely III, ii, 40-41. 'In the midst of this fine compliment to the Queen [i. e., representing Britomart (Elizabeth) as madly in love with Artegall (Justice)] we have the following curious passage put in the mouth of Glauce, Britomart's old nurse, after Britomart has confessed her love'; and he quotes the stanzas. The implica-

<sup>5</sup> *Springs of Helicon*, p. 98.

<sup>6</sup> *Mod. Phil.*, xvi, 257.



tion clearly is that Spenser went out of his way to bring in this 'curious' and 'otherwise difficult passage' because he was dominated by Aristotle's treatment of the virtue of Temperance.

It might have been argued that he brought it in because he loved this figure of the simple, devoted, somewhat bawd-like old nurse, whose experience of life has taught her to expect naughtiness in the relations between the sexes.<sup>7</sup> It is an aspect of the *ewig-weibliche* that appears to have had a charm for the great poets, from Euripides to Keats. Phaedra's nurse, and Juliet's, and Madeline's, are of the same family; and in *Isabella* Keats has added another of the tribe that he did not find in Boccaccio.

But in Spenser's case there is no need of supposing either the influence of Aristotle or a special interest in this type of woman-kind. The matter which DeMoss finds 'curious' is there because it was in the passage which, as was long ago pointed out by Warton,<sup>8</sup> Spenser was following in this canto, the pseudo-Vergilian *Ciris*. Just as he took his description of the Bower of Bliss (II, xii) bodily from the *Gerusalemme Liberata* (xv-xvi) with some improvements in the way of arrangement, so he has 'copied the greatest part of the second Canto of this book from the Ceiris of Virgil,' as Warton puts it.<sup>9</sup> The translation is frequently

<sup>7</sup> For further evidence of this character in Glauce see IV, vi, 32.

<sup>8</sup> *Observations on the Fairy Queen* (edition of 1807), I, 117.

<sup>9</sup> It was probably also in the *Ciris*, as Warton thought, that Spenser found the name Britomartis—altho he may well enough have read also Antoninus Liberalis's account of her (see note 4, above). The word is Cretan and is supposed to mean 'sweet maiden'; but it must have seemed to Spenser a providential name for his martial maid of Britain. In the *Ciris*—it may be worth while to explain, since the poem is not found in modern editions of Vergil—Britomartis is the daughter, not the foster-child, of the nurse Charme; the foster-child, and the heroine of the poem, is Scylla. Charme tells the love-maddened Scylla about her own child, Britomartis, who, pursued by the unwelcome love of Minos, cast herself down from the watch-tower on Mount Dictæ and vanished, or, according to another story (both, curiously enough, are given by Charme herself), became the goddess Dictynna, a Cretan equivalent of Diana. According to Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis*, 189-200, Britomartis was one of the attendant nymphs of Artemis, and when she cast herself into the sea was caught and saved by fishermen in their nets; whence the name Dictynna (from *δίκτυον*, a net). Pausanias (II, 30) gives the

close,<sup>10</sup> and the figure of the nurse is very faithfully reproduced.

The part corresponding to Spenser's stanzas 40-41 is ll. 237-40:

Hei mihi, ne furor ille tuos invaserit artus,  
Ille, Arabae Myrrhae quondam qui cepit ocellos,  
Ut scelere infando, quod nec sinit Adrastea,  
Laedere utrumque uno studeas errore parentem!

As to Spenser's additions of Pasiphae and Byblis, the former is a mythological commonplace, and the latter may very probably have been suggested by Ovid, *Met.* ix, 454 ff. In his fondness for piling up mythological allusions Spenser is a true child of the Renaissance. It is pertinent, perhaps, to note that Ovid has just such a nurse and nursing scene as that in the *Ciris* in his story of Myrrha, *Met.* x, 298 ff. But there is no question that the *Ciris* is Spenser's source, as anyone may satisfy himself by comparing the two.

The spell to which Glauce resorts to free her foster-child from her strange passion is also from the *Ciris*, but with additions. One would like to believe that Spenser is here using English folklore. Charmes mixes sulphur, narcissus, cassia, and 'herbas olentes' in an earthen dish, "binds thrice about it ninefold threads of triple hue," and then bids the girl spit thrice in her bosom:

... 'Ter in gremium mecum,' inquit, 'despue, virgo,  
Despue ter, virgo; numero deus impare gaudet.'

Glauce uses simples more familiar to English folk—savin, rue, camphor, calamint, dill, "colt wood"—and adds milk and blood; the magic braid around the pot is made of "thrise three heares from of her head"; and the charm of spitting is thrice called for:

Come, daughter, come, come; spit upon my face,  
Spitt thrise upon me, thrise upon me spitt;  
Th' uneven number for this busines is most fitt.

In the next stanza we have a part of the charm which is not in the *Ciris*:

same etymology. In the *Ciris* we may assume perhaps that the poet associated the name with the nets of hunters.

<sup>10</sup> Compare with Spenser's 47th stanza *Ciris*, 40-44:

His ubi sollicitos animi relevaverat aestus  
Vocibus, et blanda pectus spe vicerat aegrum,  
Paullatim tremebunda genis obducere vestem  
Virginis, et placidam tenebris captare quietem,  
Inverso bibulum restinguens lumen olivo.

That sayd, her rownd about she from her turnd,  
 She turned her contrary to the sunne,  
 Thrise she her turnd contrary, and returnd  
 All contrary, for she the right did shunne,  
 And ever what she did was streight undonne.

But all this, with possibly one exception, is of classical provenience; cf. Theocritus, *Idyll.* II and Vergil, *Ecl.* VIII, which are, I suppose, the best known accounts. And even the withershins motion ('contrary to the sunne'), which is not found in Vergil or Theocritus, seems to be included in Horace's *Ad Canidiam*:

Citumque retro solve, solve turbinem.

So that even in his folk-lore he is drawing not upon his own observation of humble life but upon his knowledge of classical literature.

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#### THE ELIZABETHAN "TO BOARD"

The figurative use of "to board" = "to accost" is familiar enough. Sir Toby gives a string of synonyms for it in *T. N.*, I, iii, 60, all who expound Shakespeare to the young insist on it, and indeed in most of its Elizabethan occurrences it plainly denotes nothing more. Yet, despite the derivation from Fr. *aborder*, it is hard to believe that in the days of Drake and Raleigh the connotation of the word, even in this sense, could have entirely escaped influence from its common meaning, "to board" a ship. The *N. E. D.* fails to notice what may be described as a literal employment of the metaphor in *The First Part of Ieronimo*, II, iii, 20:

in this disguise I may  
 Both wed, bed, and boord her?

Here the meaning seems unmistakable. Surely this meaning must have been productive of overtones in such cases as in Sh.'s *A. W.*, V, iii, 121.

It may be objected that in the passage quoted *boord* (a common spelling in Sh. as well) possibly means "accost" and is with de-

sign anti-climactic, and intended to be delivered by the actor with a hem and a leer. If so (which seems unlikely), the obvious connotation of the word becomes only more certain.

In his note on *T. N.*, I, iii, 60, Furness (p. 40) is a little severe on "those who cannot extract the simple meaning [i. e., accost] from Sir Toby's own words ['Accost is front her, boord her, woe her, assayle her.']" But Sir Andrew's reply indicates that my contention is right: "By my troth I would not vndertake her in this company. Is that the meaning of Accost?" On this speech Halliwell (vol. VII, p. 276) observes, "but the word is often used with a double entendre, and it is probable from Sir Andrew's answer that Sir Toby may have here alluded as well to the more wanton meaning."

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#### MAURICE BARRÈS AND THE "YOUNG" REVIEWS

Maurice Barrès, at the age of 19, left Nancy, where he was studying law, to continue, nominally at least, this same work in Paris. But his real interest was in literature, and he was fired with a passionate desire to make his mark in the world of letters. His ambition received prompt recognition, and the very year of his début in Paris, 1881, he had two articles accepted in *La Jeune France*, a "young" review, then in its fourth year, but with a brilliant list of contributing editors which included: Alphonse Daudet, Anatole France, Leconte de Lisle, Paul Bourget, Baudelaire and Faguet. About one-third of each issue of this review was devoted to publishing the work of young and unknown writers who showed promise.

Barrès's first article, which appeared in May, 1881, is a favorable analysis of the plays of Auguste Vacquerie and shows, along with certain crudities of style, a naïvely youthful enthusiasm which we will not often find in the writer, but also an almost fanatical devotion to the highest literary ideals, which will be, of course, a constant trait in all his later work. The second article is upon the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the death of Charles Hugo, elder son of the poet. Barrès writes with a keen sympathy, and

as yet little trace of the dry irony or the austere disdain which are to characterize his early and middle twenties, the period of "le culte du moi." These articles drew to Barrès the attention of Leconte de Lisle, and the famous poet brought the young writer to the favorable notice of a number of illustrious literary men, among them Bourget and Anatole France.

A year later, in the same periodical Barrès has a story which is worth brief mention because it is so unlike anything else from his pen. The story, called "Le Chemin de l'Institut," is, in brief: Jean Boursaulx reads his novel "Mes débuts" to his friend Karl Ferraz who admires it immensely and secures permission to take it to his room. Boursaulx is stricken with paralysis. Ferraz publishes the novel as his own and becomes famous. Boursaulx learns this, but dies forgiving. Many years later Ferraz, covered with literary honors, is buried in the shadow of the Institute. The romantic pathos of the tale strongly suggests Alphonse Daudet, and the savage irony of the ending reminds us more of the Anatole France of *Penguin Island* than of anything the latter had published up to this time.

In 1883 *La Jeune France* printed a 20-page article by Barrès on *Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard* which shows a fine understanding and a deep admiration for its author. Jérôme Tharaud tells us that France was the first literary man whom Barrès visited when he came to Paris, and that the younger man admired France intensely at this time. A remarkable article on Banville shows Barrès as already in possession of a rich and colorful vocabulary, which needs only moderating to become a fine instrument of expression.

Next comes the famous *Taches d'Encre*, a monthly gazette founded, as Barrès frankly tells his readers, to make him better known. The paper had only four numbers, from the 5th of November, 1884 to the 5th of February, 1885. The painter Jacques-Emile Blanche tells an amusing and revealing story of Barrès and of the latter's hunger for fame. It seems that a woman had assassinated a certain Morin, in the Palais de Justice itself, and naturally this sensational crime was the center of attention. Barrès hired sandwich men to parade the boulevards bearing the sign

"Morin

ne lira plus

Les Taches d'Encre."

The first 26 pages of the first number are taken up with a serious and capable discussion of Baudelaire and the origins of Satanism. In the second article Barrès denounces a certain Victor Tissot who has attained considerable notoriety by writing insulting and even scurrilous books about Germany. In this connection Barrès expressed his own distaste for the war songs of Déroulède and the latter's *Ligue des Patriotes*, but observes that at least no one doubts Déroulède's sincerity. Three nations, continues Barrès, guide civilization in the 19th century, France, England, and Germany, and it would be an irreparable loss if one of them were to disappear. Barrès holds up to the scorn of the younger generation such vulgar "agents provocateurs" as Tissot. He continues: "The special task which we young men have before us is to retake the captured land and to reconstitute the French ideal, in which is included the Protestant genius of Strasbourg as well as the brilliant facility of the Midi. Let us teach the people of France that they are a great nation, and that by the *élan* of its individual efforts, this people will maintain itself, for the service of the human mind, at the head of the peoples of Europe. Then, when the drum beats, we will show of what is capable a nation which esteems itself highly enough to esteem its adversary." These words of the young Barrès already give the measure of Barrès the patriot. From his earliest manhood the interior life and the need of and aptitude for action are seen to exist side by side in him. The young intellectual is also a man who wishes to serve his country, but it is the interior life of the artist which raises the public man to the dignity of being able to respect a worthy enemy.

Among the interesting indications which the student of Barrès may select from the *Gazette du Mois* of the review is the prediction that in about twenty years he (Barrès) will hold out his arms "à quelque Catholicisme un peu modifié." Under the head of *Moralités* he says "C'est le fait d'un parvenu d'insulter aux maîtres par qui se fait l'éducation des races."<sup>1</sup>

In the last number of *Les Taches d'Encre* we find the first indication of the implacable hatred and scorn which Barrès is always

<sup>1</sup> It seems to me that the young intellectuals who, in the name of a Barrésian nationalism, showered opprobrium upon the tomb of Anatole France, might well meditate upon this saying of their master.



to show towards the professional politician. The future deputy maintains that the governing classes nourish a jealous hatred towards the intellectual and attack him, when possible, on grounds of conventional morality.

In spite of the rare talent which they show, *Les Taches d'Encre* were a financial failure, and Barrès was forced to discontinue their publication after the fourth number.

An interesting venture was *Les Chroniques*, a monthly review founded by Barrès and Charles Le Goffic. It ran from December 1, 1886 to an October-November number in 1887. Besides the founders, contributors of distinction were few, but include Lemaître, Bourget and Verlaine (all three with sonnets) and André Bellesort. Each number opens with a *Chronique de Paris* by Barrès. In an article on a certain playwright named Doucet, who occupied Vigny's chair in the Academy, Barrès writes: "Sa bouche semble fatiguée de porter son sourire." In this article, terrible in its purposely faint praise, Barrès ridicules Doucet, who seems to have been merely a sort of administrative politician, for presuming to occupy the place of a man of genius. Still, at this time, in this publication at least, Barrès shows no signs of an interest in political questions. In a powerful analysis of Leconte de Lisle, Barrès comments somberly and bitterly on the futility of the intelligence and of life itself in a manner to rival the attitude of the Parnassian leader himself. He concludes: "L'ennui baille sur ce monde décoloré par les savants." When Le Goffic passed his "agrégation" in the fall of 1887, and entered "l'Université," the review came to an abrupt end.

Among noteworthy contributions of Barrès to *La Revue Illustrée* (1885) is an article on Saint-Saëns which shows that its young author has a sound grasp of the aesthetic elements and values in music. Barrès shows himself equally at home in dramatic criticism in an excellent discussion of Bernhardt's rendering of *Marion Delorme*. Discussing literary taste in general and foreign influences in particular, Barrès characterizes "Edgard Poë" as "le plus vide et le moins ingénieux des feuilletonistes."

In 1888 Barrès began contributing to *La Revue indépendante*, a small monthly, but one which commanded an illustrious list of collaborators including Moréas, Verlaine, Paul Adam, George Moore, Hérédia, Richépin, Verhaeren, Mallarmé and Hervieu. In

his first article Barrès discusses General Boulanger. The article should be particularly interesting to students of the career of Barrès, as it supplies an explanation of the puzzling question as to how this mediocre soldier, this theatrical poseur, could have aroused and held the allegiance of such men as Barrès and the group of superior intelligences who followed him. The author of *L'Appel au Soldat* describes his idol as being the man "elected by the popular instinct." Barrès says that, stifled as he himself is by the barbarians, he feels the need of a savior. He writes, he says, only for a small public, but "un public divin d'ailleurs; les princes de la jeunesse." Boulanger, it seems, had shown an especial interest in this élite, because he knows that from the thousands of these young intellectuals will emerge the hundred or so who will dominate their epoch.

In an article in this same review in September, 1888, Barrès says that he was drawn to a certain Simon, because they had in common: "des préjugés, un vocabulaire, et des dédains." They are congenial because they analyse themselves and each other "avec minutie," and hold their intelligence in high esteem, but place no value at all upon the element of character. In this article we find an early appearance of the famous Barrésian formula "Il faut sentir le plus possible, en analysant le plus possible."

In 1892 Barrès has an article in *La Revue Blanche* devoted to a discussion of one of his favorite themes, the *moi* and whether or not the exterior world exists. From now on, says the author of *Un Homme Libre* he will renounce trying to convert his readers entirely to his way of thinking, but will attempt, using their preconceived notions, to convert them to the realization of the fact that there is only one value worth developing, and that is "l'exaltation du moi et sa culture." Readers of Tharaud's *Mes Années Chez Barrès* will remember that it was in *La Revue Blanche*, in 1887, that an important article appeared, in which a representative of a certain group of young intellectuals, followers of Barrès, renounced allegiance to him because of his attitude on the Dreyfus Affair.

What is probably the last important contribution of Barrès to a "young" review appears in *L'Aube* for June, 1896. In this issue he has an article on Baudelaire which, says Barrès, he had intended to include in *Un Homme Libre*. Among the illuminating

ideas which appear in it is this: that the poet, the priest, and the soldier are alone among mortals worthy of being called great. In fact, the poet is really a soldier, in that he sacrifices himself in order to beautify his conception of the universe.

In an article by Barrès in *Cosmopolis* for October, 1898, we find this sentence particularly interesting to those who wish to follow the evolution of the thought of its author: "Si j'ai passé de la rêverie sur le *moi* au goût de la psychologie sociale . . . c'est surtout par la nécessité de me soustraire au vague mortel . . . de la contemplation nihiliste."

Most of the remaining articles of Barrès in young reviews have been incorporated directly into his books, and thus need not be considered as periodical literature.

Paul Bourget, as well as most of the other critics and biographers of Barrès whom I have read believe that the formulas which most completely summarize the Barrès of the "young" reviews are the highly complicated filament of principles which went to make up the famous "culte du moi." Abbé Brémont has found definite traces of the ideas contained in *Les Taches d'Encre* in almost all of the later works of Barrès.

It seems to me that if some of the writers who have so laboriously commented upon and explained the evolution and apparent contradictions in the later work of Barrès had given somewhat more study to the early articles of their subject, they would have seen that he is already expressed, completely, though in the germ, as it were, in the remarkable articles of his literary *débuts*.

The *Taches d'Encre* reveal one of the most characteristic aspects of Barrès and one not usually emphasized, namely, his gift for a haughty yet whimsical irony, his power of scornful disdain, his ability to inject a note of urbanity even into his most deadly sarcasm—these qualities which were later to be of incalculable value to him in his polemical work as a writer and public man. Barrès arms himself with this irony from the very beginning of his career. Not because he cares to inflict suffering, but in order the better to defend his ideal, his convictions, in brief, his personality, which he summed up and unified into his *Culte du Moi*, against disdain, incomprehension and stupidity—the weapons of the *Barbares*.

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D. C. CABEEN.

## A NOTE ON FLAUBERT

In Flaubert's *Éducation sentimentale* there is a delightful scene representing Rosanette in the Pâtisserie Anglaise, eating cream tarts which leave white "moustaches" on her mouth:

Rosanette avala deux tartes à la crème. Le sucre en poudre faisait des moustaches au coin de sa bouche. De temps à autre, pour l'essuyer, elle tirait son mouchoir de son manchon, et sa figure ressemblait, sous sa capote de soie verte, à une rose épanouie entre ses feuilles.<sup>1</sup>

This rather ludicrous representation of a beautiful woman was not a creation of the author's fancy, but was suggested to Flaubert by a personal reminiscence. In 1863, while he was working on the *Éducation sentimentale*, he wrote to Mlle Amélie Bosquet:

Jeudi prochain j'irai à la bibliothèque. . . . Vous souvient-il que c'est là l'endroit de notre première entrevue?

On vous a apporté des mirlitons, le sucre en poudre faisait une moustache blanche à votre joli bec, vous étiez charmante à donner envie de vous croquer comme les gâteaux.<sup>2</sup>

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## REVIEWS

*Geoffrey Chaucers Kleinere Dichtungen nebst Einleitung, Lesarten, Anmerkungen und einem Worterverzeichnis neu herausgegeben.* By JOHN KOCH. Englische Textbibliothek 18. Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1928, pp. viii + 260.

*Studien zu Chaucer und Langland.* By FRITZ KROG. Anglistische Forschungen, Heft 65. Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1928, pp. xii + 174.

*Die Funktionen des Erzählers in Chaucers Epischer Dichtung.* By H. LÜDEKE. Studien zur Englischen Philologie, Heft lxxii. Halle (Saale): Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1928, pp. x + 157.

In the first of these three monographs, Dr. Koch has given us new texts of Chaucer's *Minor Poems* based on a fresh classification of the

<sup>1</sup> *L'Éducation sentimentale*, Paris, Conard, 1923, p. 217.

<sup>2</sup> *Correspondance*, Paris Conard, 1910, III, 382.

MSS. for every poem and containing a fair number of readings not adopted by previous editors; these are to be discussed later in *Anglia*. Dr. Koch has normalized the texts conservatively, in a few points of spelling and phonology clearly indicated in the introduction, and with respect to *-e*, organic and inorganic; and the conventions adopted in printing make the relation of text to basic MSS. clearer than in other editions. The footnotes, however, are more crowded and harder to consult than Skeat's, and the few concise notes are not easy to find among the variant readings. For each poem there is a separate brief introduction dealing with title, sources, verse-form, and MS. filiation. The *Romaunt*, *Proverbs*, *Balade of Complaynt*, and *Womanly Noblesse* are excluded as unauthentic.

The order in which the poems are printed, and the slight sketch of Chaucer's poetic development, are both based on a longish discussion of chronology. A good deal of this revolves about the rather speculative autobiographical and political interpretations of both life-records and poems that are already associated with Dr. Koch's name. *Mars* still belongs to 1379 (with 1385 in a footnote), and Mr. Root's astronomical dating of *Troilus* is not mentioned. In so far as Dr. Koch's picture of Chaucer is based on speculative grounds, it will probably be acceptable rather to "those convinced before" than to "the not-as-yet-convinced."

Dr. Krog's study of Chaucer's personality and spiritual development is far more elaborate. He represents Chaucer, in strong contrast to Langland, as passive, aesthetic, receptive, in his inborn nature; and fated, by living in a time of transition between medieval Christian authority and renaissance intellectual freedom, to be the life-long victim of imperfectly resolved inner conflict. He traces Chaucer's development, picturing him as uprooted from his native middle-class, beginning a poetry of "pathetic ideality" under the influence of an unreal and moribund chivalric culture, soon disillusioned in his philosophy of wordly happiness, without firm religious faith, a prey to sadness, doubt, and despair, and adopting Fortune as symbol of the world-weary pessimism which has led him to ethical frivolity. In the *Monk's Tale*, and in *Troilus*, Dr. Krog sees him making Fortune a principle of his philosophy of history and of life, his determinism finally leaving no room for free-will. The epilogue of *Troilus*, following its remarkable wordly realism, indicates a personal crisis. Chaucer's need of emotional warmth, a need induced by that earlier uprooting, leads him in despite of his cool rationality to seek refuge in a personal piety not to be confused with deep religious faith. In a kind of compromise he now links Fortune with God's foreknowledge. In the *Parlement of Foules* and the *House of Fame*, humor gives him healing and forgetfulness; sad Fortune yields place to jesting Fame. Not the inward promptings of genius, however, but the blows of



fortune in the late '80s, rouse him to awareness of his relation to society at large, and turn him to picturing English life. Compared to Langland, he is weak and passive in social criticism; resignation, not accusation, inspires his late philosophic poems. But in the *Prologue* his human and artistic powers are in most perfect harmony, freed from medieval formulas and ideas (though Dr. Krog thinks estates-satire was Chaucer's model), and achieving perfect realism. Yet the lifelong inner dissonance persists: in the tales of his latest period, the Wife's, the Pardoner's, the Canon's Yeoman's, Chaucer evades realism and the urgency of social problems and escapes to joyously comic caricature; pious pathos steeps *Melibeus* and the *Parson's Tale*; Stoic pessimism is blended with Christian in *Truth*.

Everyone will accept some parts at least of this picture; Chaucer's and Langland's attitudes toward social problems, for example, were obviously as unlike as Lamb's and Shaftesbury's toward chimney-sweeps. But Dr. Krog, though making much parade of scientific method and of psychological terminology, has laid himself open to criticism on many grounds. He is insufficiently aware of our ignorance about Chaucer's *personal* life (compare, for example, what we know about Lamb), and is uncritical in basing his study upon guesses, speculations, and hypotheses accepted as facts. How does he *know* that Chaucer was born in 1340, entered court life only at seventeen, saw only bourgeois life before? How does he *know* that Chaucer's employments after 1386 were unremunerative? He is uncritical in his assumptions as to agreement between Chaucer's real feelings and the trite courtly conventions he uses, and in his acceptance of highly speculative datings of Chaucer's works. (Someone really should "de-bunk" Chaucerian pseudo-chronology). How does he *know* that the *Monk's Tale* came immediately after *The Book of the Duchess*, and in its present form, or that the commonplaces on Fortune represent Chaucer's own convictions? His treatment of Chaucer's youth is sentimental. That *The Book of the Duchess*, an elegy, should be "instinct with sadness" is no proof, any more than are the trite woes of the *Compleynts*, that Chaucer was sad; *sad* is not the same, by the way, in Chaucer's English as in Mr. Kittredge's. Dr. Krog is uncritical, too, in assuming that the literary tellers of Chaucer's tales speak for him personally: that it is Chaucer who gives up the problem of fate and free will in the *Nun's Priest's Tale*, and is cynical about women's "excellent franchise" in the *Merchant's Tale*. Surely it is wrong to interpret *CT. A 1261 ff.* as expressing the meaninglessness of life rather than mere human fallibility; and few will agree that the drunkard's *hous* symbolizes the Virgin, or that Mr. Lowes accepts Mr. Tupper's "sins" theory. More important than these errors of detail is Dr. Krog's disposition to accentuate sadness in Chaucer by giving too much weight to remarks uncritically isolated, too little to the total



effect of the most original works, to the impression of irrepressible vitality, all-pervading humor, and tolerant sanity conveyed, to the sensitive reader, not merely by content but by tone and cadence.

The function of Chaucer's "literary" narrator has been carefully and exhaustively studied by Dr. Lüdeke, who has discovered, by actual count, that Chaucer gave far more space, on the average, to this person, than did other medieval story-tellers. His interruptions of the purely narrative content are classified by Dr. Lüdeke as formal, structural, and self-characterizing. The last, of course, are the most interesting. They lead us, step by step, to the dramatized figure of the narrator, who is, indeed, the reciter, exercising permanently within the poem itself that art of delicate nuances which Chaucer must have practised at court so expertly. In no other medieval narratives, Dr. Lüdeke has discovered, is the sympathetic unity of story, reciter, and audience so subtly and completely embodied.

In *CT.* the narrator's function is shown to be only slightly more extended than in other narratives. But is Dr. Lüdeke correct in asserting: "Solange der Erzähler bloss erzählt, ist seine Gestalt nicht spürbar"? This is surely to neglect important evidence. The prioress's tale cannot be grouped with the second nun's as equally conditioned, in style, merely by the material. It is the prioress who "talks small" through the whole narrative. The sermon addressed to Mr. Kittredge on not arbitrarily reading between the lines is an attack on a straw man, as would be clear if his views (particularly in *Chaucer and his Poetry*, p. 172) were correctly presented.

For its objectivity in most points, the enormous amount of material used, the thorough and often illuminating classifications and definitions, the interesting comparisons with other authors, this study is well worth attention.

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*Canterbury Tales* by Geoffrey Chaucer. Edited by JOHN M. MANLY. New York, Holt, 1928. Pp. x + 721.

Professor Manly's edition of the *Canterbury Tales* is an additional demonstration—if any further demonstration were needed—that only an original and independent scholar ought ever to try his hand at a textbook. For no mere compiler, no matter how well informed, could possibly have given us anything half so rich and solid as the present work. It is still in fact, what it was in intention, a textbook, but a textbook to which scholars may and will turn for suggestion, for interpretation, and for matters of fact.

Mr. Manly has printed the prologue, thirteen of the tales, and the links, complete, save for expurgations, and has characterized, or at least indicated, the omissions, so that, although this is not a complete edition, the *Canterbury Tales* can still be read as a continuous, if broken, story, and not merely as a haphazard assembly of disparate tales. He has, rightly I think, abandoned the arrangement of the fragments adopted by the Chaucer Society and followed by all modern editors except Koch, and has returned to the only really defensible order, that of the Ellesmere group. Incidentally he gives, on the basis of the work of one of his students, Mr. Robert Campbell, an analysis of the order of the fragments in the manuscripts which for first time reduces that primeval chaos to order. It is a very neat piece of work.

The text itself, so far as I have been able to tell from a collation which is admittedly imperfect, is thoroughly sound. Mr. Manly follows the Ellesmere MS. even more meticulously than does Koch, only departing from it when deviation is imperative, and then emending on the basis of cognate MSS. only. The result is less limpid and "correct" than Skeat, but it is undoubtedly far nearer Chaucer. Since the text is so excellent it is a thousand pities that Mr. Manly has thought it necessary to expurgate it and even—in at least one instance (1 504)—deliberately to alter it. But whatever we may think of that, here is the best life of Chaucer that we have yet had; a beautiful account of Chaucer's England; a solid and luminous study of the manifold problems which the *Canterbury Tales* present; an excellent account of Chaucer's syntax, and one, less satisfactory, of Chaucerian pronunciation; a brief but suggestive review of the versification; and an introduction to astrology which, if too condensed for the average teacher will be welcomed by those who are curious in such matters. Finally, there is an excellent glossary. But the great excellence of the book is the magnificent notes, worthy to stand beside the memorable work of Skeat and quite indispensable as a companion to it. They are, in fact, a veritable encyclopedia of medieval lore which even a first-rate scholar may read to his own great profit. I regret that I cannot discuss them as they deserve. I must content myself with a few scattered notes.

Mr. Manly's suggestion for the pronunciation of the *ai*, *ei* diphthong is ambiguous (p. 91), but it implies the old heresy that *ai* and *ei* fell together in ME. as [ei] and not as [ai]. This is certainly wrong (See Malone, "Studies in English Phonology" II, *Mod. Phil.* XXIII, 483-90 and the literature there cited), and it is to be regretted that Mr. Manly should give currency to the error. It is more than doubtful if Clifford, Clanvowe, and Stury were really Lollards (p. 91. See Waugh, "The Lollard Knights," *Scottish Historical Review*, XI, 55-92); and "Trotula" (p. 582) has been finally disposed of by Mr. and Mrs. Charles Singer in a single paragraph (*History*, x, 244). On the other hand, it may be mere

pedantry to insist on deleting the à in Thomas Becket's name, as does Hutton in his recent *Life*. In his reference to the *Libel of English Policy* (p. 514), Mr. Manly might have cited two recent and inexpensive editions (by Allen R. Benham, Seattle, 1926; and Sir George Warner, Oxford, 1926) rather than the almost inaccessible Wright. And I miss a reference to that perfect commentary on the Shipman (Prologue, 388 ff.) which is afforded by the late Mr. C. L. Kingsford's chapter on the "West Country Piracy" in his *Prejudice and Promise in the Fifteenth Century*. Surely it is incorrect to say (p. 516) that medieval scholars knew Aristotle only in Latin translations from the Arabic. Professor Haskins has shown that from the twelfth century at least translations from Arabic and direct from Greek circulated side by side (See his *Studies in the History of Medieval Science* 2 ed., pp. 141-241, particularly Chapter VIII). And in view of Professor Le Compte's article "Chaucer's Nun's Priest's Tale and the Roman de Renard" (*Modern Philology*, xiv, 737-49) I should prefer to abandon Miss Peterson's ingenious reconstruction of Chaucer's source. Mr. Manly is chary of parallel passages; but he quotes one from Gower (p. 529) to Prologue, 497: "Crist wrought first and afterward he taught." And I am sure he will accept another, quoted by Owst (*Preaching in Medieval England*, p. 22) from an actual sermon: "For so dud Crist himselfe; for first he lyvyd holily inward, and afterward he taughte it forth."

The goodly company of Chaucerians in every country will welcome this distinguished work, in almost every way the best thing of its kind since Skeat; but for that reason they will hope, as I do, that the critical edition of which Mr. Manly holds out promise may not be long delayed.

MARTIN B. RUUD.

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*Founders of the Middle Ages.* By EDWARD KENNARD RAND.  
Harvard University Press, 1928. Pp. 365.

It is eminently fitting that Professor E. K. Rand should be the author of these lectures, delivered before the Lowell Institute in 1928. This is true not only because of his comprehensive knowledge of classical culture in the middle ages, a knowledge which has ripened into wisdom; and because of his distinguished services as an interpreter to classicists, mediaevalists, and modernists alike of the essential continuity of classical culture. It is true, also, because, as the reviewer remembers with gratitude, Mr. Rand was the first chairman of the Committee on Mediaeval Latin Studies in the

Modern Language Association; and he was the first president and the moving spirit in the Mediaeval Academy of America.

In the words of the author, "the aim of the book . . . is to make clear the importance of certain great movements in thought and culture during the early Christian centuries . . . and to point out the significance of these men and these movements as precursors of certain aspects of mediaeval civilization." His main concern is limited to the early Christian-Pagan literature of the West and to the essentially related philosophy. His first two lectures show how the early leaders in Christian thought, despite open rejection of pagan culture, came to a recognition of the indispensable place of pagan literature and philosophy in the development of Christian culture. In 'St. Ambrose the Mystic,' 'St. Jerome the Humanist,' 'Boethius the first of the Scholastics,' 'The New Poetry,' 'The New Education,' and 'St. Augustine and Dante,' he establishes this fact. But more important, he finds in this body of material the rock whence were hewn the humanistic leaders of the middle ages. His peers may tilt with him concerning mooted points about Boethius, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, and others. But these peers, as well as the large body of interested readers among students of the modern languages, will find here a necessary task done with distinction.

Because of the permanent value of this volume as a contribution to humanistic studies, the reviewer wishes that the author had omitted frequent *obiter dicta* concerning deplorable, practical tendencies in current education. In totality these comments tend to make him a special pleader and to detract somewhat from the final impression of serene humanism with which he may well rest his case. To recur to a phrase of which he is fond, it is a book which merits being read *sub specie aeternitatis*.

GEORGE R. COFFMAN.

Boston University.

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*A Concordance of Boethius.* The Five Theological Tractates and the Consolation of Philosophy. Compiled by LANE COOPER. The Medieval Academy of America, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Publication No. 1, 1928. Pp. xii + 467.

Aristotle says that one good turn deserves another. That eminent Aristotelian, Professor Lane Cooper, is evidently a worthy disciple of his master. Having put the classical world in his debt by making *A Concordance of the Works of Horace*, he now follows with *A Concordance of Boethius,—The Five Theological Tractates and The Consolation of Philosophy*. Making due allowance for the author concerned, no doubt this volume will be as well received as was its predecessor.

This volume on Boethius is a handsome one, clearly printed on beautiful paper. It is sponsored by the *Heckscher Foundation for the Advancement of Research* and is published by the *Medieval Academy of America* as its initial volume. That Boethius should be so often honored in recent years,—namely, with the Fortescue-Smith Edition, 1925, with a place in the Loeb Series, 1926, with a chapter in Rand's *Founders of the Middle Ages*, 1928, with H. R. Patch's *Fate in Boethius and the Neoplatonists* (*Speculum*, January, 1929), and now finally with this handsome concordance—is very significant of the reviving interest in Medieval studies.

In the preparation of this volume on Boethius, Professor Cooper follows the principles laid down in his earlier work on Horace. As a basic text, he uses that of Rand in the Loeb Classical Library. He also includes variants and conjectures noted by editors and reviewers from Peiper to Rand.

One is loath to say anything that might savor of criticism of Professor Cooper's work, but one suggestion might be in point. A colleague of mine, Professor A. K. Dolch, has been making "A Latin-Old High German Glossary to Notker's *Translation of Book I of the Consolation of Philosophy*." In this work he has made much use of the Boethian Concordance. He finds its accuracy remarkable but misses something in the categories of words that are listed without quoting. Thus in the various forms of *qui*, for example, no consistent distinction is made in the adjective and substantive, the relative and interrogative uses. This confusion is enhanced by the fact that in the treatment of words of this type there are no captions and where there is some scheme of classification, it is not always clear just what this scheme is. Again, the compiler's plan of listing all forms of a word, as *sum*, *eram*, *fui*, in strictly alphabetical order makes it very difficult for the investigator to be sure that he has completely run down the syntax and usage of that word. Dr. Dolch feels that one of the chief functions of a concordance is to enable the investigator to use the judgment of the compiler in checking up on his own conclusions.

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*A Bibliography of Thomas Carlyle's Writings and Ana.* By ISAAC WATSON DYER. The Southworth Press, Portland, Maine, 1928. Portrait. \$12.50.

Here at last is a bibliography to all that "Carlyle literature"—biography, criticism, exposition, reminiscence, correspondence, technical writing, and controversial material—behind which the



admirers and detractors of Carlyle have contrived to conceal him. Both the general reader and the specialist will welcome this guide, the result of forty years of labor and an admirable product of the Southworth Press. Its arrangement is clear, and it is rich in cross references. Carlyle's writings, translations, and letters are arranged in four lists: alphabetically by titles, chronologically, according to titles of periodicals, and according to periodicals containing any of Carlyle's letters. The *ana* are treated similarly, with the addition, however, of an interesting list of the principal portraits, busts, statues, and photographs of Carlyle, a commentary on them in a separate section, and an index-guide to the *ana*. Four Appendixes contain information on Carlyle's little-known invention of a horse-shoe, the known sources of *The French Revolution*, an article on *Sartor Resartus*, and addenda to the magazine list in the *ana*. A distinguishing feature of Mr. Dyer's work is the critical and informative comment on the titles, varying in length from a line or single sentence to ten pages of small type, supplying facts not only bibliographical but also critical, biographical, and controversial. The reader who elects merely to browse in this work may absorb a surprising amount of information not encountered in the usual formal biography.

The percentage of error, always looming horrendously over the bibliographer's shoulder, is here a matter of some typographical mistakes and, several serious errors of omission. *H. Schurz Wilson* should, for instance, be *H. Schutz-Wilson* (p. 484). One misses the citation of L. Derôme, *Revue de l'Instruction Publique*, September 15, 1864; and likewise Miriam Mulford Thrall, *A Phase of Carlyle's Relation to Fraser's Magazine* in the *PMLA.*, xxxix (1924). Several important letters to the *Times* and the *Times* editorial of May 9, 1881, likewise fail to appear. Many readers may object to the very proper exclusion of any editions "not deemed of value to the collector, or not having some special points of excellence for the general reader" (p. 57n). More formidable is perhaps Mr. Dyer's inclusion in his commentary of a great deal of material on the Froude-Carlyle controversy which may stir the ire of many of the Froude party; moreover, the impersonal quality appropriate to a bibliography is no doubt damaged thereby. Yet the great body of Froude-Carlyle literature is truly listed, so that we may draw our own conclusions from a richer knowledge than heretofore.

In spite of what may be objected to in the work, the fact remains that it is one of the most significant and important contributions to Carlyle scholarship in recent years. Through it we obtain a perspective of the field, which has hitherto been difficult to achieve; we see the great bulk of virtually worthless commentary, biography, and criticism which Carlyle's powerful personality has led a host of inept writers to produce. The true Carlyle scholar can now



have before him the titles of the half dozen or more excellent monographs, the four or five reliable biographies and biographical accounts, and the relatively few valuable criticisms of Carlyle's work and significance. He may now see what vast unexplored territories lie before him. And he may be stimulated to do a little uprooting and clearing away; he may, for instance, reappraise Mr. D. A. Wilson's most injudiciously reviewed biography or C. E. Vaughan's loose and unreliable *Carlyle and His German Masters*. In short, the field is staked out and alluring. Mr. Dyer's book points out both the thrilling labor and the rich harvest.

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*A Union Catalog of Photo Facsimiles in North American Libraries.*

Material so far received by the Library of Congress. Compiled by the Curator of Union Catalogs of the Library of Congress (Mr. ERNEST KLETSCH). Unedited. Yardley, Pa., F. S. Cook & Son, 1929. \$1.00 and postage.

"This list of about 1,000 titles is multigraphed as a general guide to other co-operators." It does not pretend to be and cannot be complete until all American Libraries possessing photostat copies of MSS. and rare printed books send in the information which will make this desired completeness possible. The *Catalog* gives the title of such copies as are to be found in the Library of Congress, the universities of Toronto, California, Chicago, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Cornell, Columbia, Princeton and Wisconsin, Harvard and Wellesley colleges, the Newberry and New York Public Libraries and the Massachusetts Historical Society. No doubt there are many more in other libraries scattered over the country. It is to be hoped that readers of *MLN.* will co-operate with Mr. Kletsch by seeing to it that he receives information concerning the photostat copies possessed by the institutions with which they are connected.

The importance of this enterprise, which is developing so auspiciously, cannot fail to impress all American scholars in the field of modern languages. It is bringing to our doors original source material for research, which we have hitherto been forced to procure for ourselves from abroad. The Modern Language Association of America is in fact very intimately connected with this project. Its collection of Rotograph Reproductions of Manuscript and Rare Printed Books is characterized in the preface to the *Catalog* as "the most important recent contribution and the best

demonstration of the effectiveness of the method" (of using photostat copies for research purposes).

The appendix of the Catalog presents an alphabetical list of the institutions and libraries cited as holders of the originals from which the copies are made with a table showing their geographical distribution. Our indebtedness to the officials of the Library of Congress is clear and we should give them our heartiest co-operation in performing this very vital service for American scholarship.

COLBERT SEARLES.

University of Minnesota.

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*A Bibliography of the Poetics of Aristotle.* By LANE COOPER and ALFRED GUDEMAN. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press (Cornell Studies in English XI), 1928. Pp. x + 193. \$2.00.

In the six sections of this very useful work are listed editions of the Greek text of the *Poetics* from 1508 to 1927; translations into Latin and the various modern languages published during the same period; the commentaries contained in these editions and translations; independent commentaries and allusions from 1483 to 1859; and the chief scholarly studies and interpretations which have appeared since 1860. The field thus covered is an enormous one, and it is only natural that Professors Cooper and Gudeman should have left a certain number of gaps in the record. It is not at all difficult, for example, to add to their catalogue of allusions to the *Poetics* in the criticism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Thus, to speak only of fairly well known English works in which Aristotle's poetical theories are discussed, I find no mention of Shaftesbury's *Characteristics*, of Hurd's notes and essays in his *Q. Horatii Flacci Epistolae ad Pisones et Augustum*, of Joseph Warton's *Works of Virgil*, of John Brown's *Dissertation on the Rise, Union, and Power . . . of Poetry and Music*, or of Hugh Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*. And the list could easily be extended. From the last section, too, there are missing a number of important recent studies which touch upon one aspect or another of the influence of the *Poetics* in modern times. René Bray's *La formation de la doctrine classique en France* (Paris, 1927) doubtless appeared too late to be included (Professor Cooper's Preface is dated December 20, 1927), but surely a place might have been made for W. Folkierski's *Entre le classicisme et le romantisme* (Cracow and Paris, 1925), for Hubert Gillot's *La querelle des anciens & des modernes en France* (Paris, 1914), and for the articles of Colbert

Searles on "Italian Influence as seen in the Sentiments of the French Academy on the *Cid*" (*Romanic Review*, III [1912], 362-90) and on "Corneille and the Italian Doctrinaires" (*Modern Philology*, XIII [1915], 169-79). Too much should not be made, however of these lacunae; if some things here and there are overlooked, much after all is given; and we may be grateful to the compilers for having provided an instrument of work which will certainly be used with profit by all students of the history of European literary doctrines since the Renaissance.

R. S. CRANE.

*University of Chicago.*

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*Collected Essays, Papers, &c.* of ROBERT BRIDGES. II. Humdrum and Harum-Scarum, A Lecture on Free Verse. III. Poetic Diction. New York, Oxford University Press, 1928. Pp. 31-70. \$1.00.

*The Triumph of Realism in Elizabethan Drama, 1558-1612.* By WILLARD THORP. Princeton University Press (Princeton Studies in English, No. 3), 1928. ix + 142 pp. \$2.00.

Mr. Bridges always writes with solicitude for the logical presentation and the exact expression of his meaning, so that his essays make pleasant reading and whether you agree with him or not you always know just what he thinks. On the subject of free verse one does not expect to find him a champion, nor is he. With all his display of a fair mind his prejudices (I use the term without any suggestion of reproach) are clearly for the traditional modes. Therefore one feels that his examination of free verse, full as it is of wise and valuable things, is unsatisfying. Probably its greatest inadequacy is that no example of free verse is quoted or analyzed. The essay discloses its real value when it is taken as a brief defence of conventional prosody, in the extension of whose refinements, Mr. Bridges believes, lies the true way for developing English poetry.

The essay on poetic diction is very slight. Mr. Bridges asks if any reasonable objection can be made to the diction and machinery of such cultural hybrids as *Lycidas* and *Adonais*, and decides in the negative. He objects to the confinement of diction within the common terms of actual speech because diction is closely bound to properties (or machinery) which it has the power to harmonize, and if diction is restricted to actualities then properties must also be, or conversely "the higher the poet's command of diction, the wider may be the field of his Properties." In other words, diction must be elastic to fit every imaginative wish of the poet. A further objection to the autocracy of common speech is that it rules out ob-

solescent words against whose beauty and usefulness there can be no protest. Mr. Bridges believes that the preservation of dying terms of native origin would not only serve to bind our modern poetry to the older literature but would enrich the supply of Anglo-Saxon and Latin synonyms, to the refinement of our language.

By "the triumph of realism" Mr. Thorp means the defeat of the moralizing principle by the principle of fidelity to nature. The purpose of his study is to show how the Elizabethan dramatists came more and more to see life whole. Until, roughly, 1585 the drama was the handmaid to theology and ethics; the didactic motive dominated and life was moulded to the moral pattern. Coincidentally with the Marprelate quarrels the stage shook itself loose from the grip of homily, and under the leadership of the new group of wits pursued freer courses, permitting itself, under Lyly, to cultivate a purely esthetic manner and, under Marlowe, to be occupied with the dangerous enchantments of *virtu*. Although the didactic strain persists in men like Dekker and Heywood, the great spirits of the early 17th century are in spaces of their own beyond it: Chapman working on moral principles of his own which were frequently at variance with accepted ideas, Jonson censuring his fellow dramatists who "run away from nature," and Webster, Beaumont, and Fletcher picturing in real colors the tangled web of passion. Although none of them is actually a moral rebel (for Mr. Thorp stops, with 1612, short of Ford) and they all make at least a conventional reverence before the ikon of *Sittlichkeit*, they treat life without distorting it to prove a moral thesis.

After a general survey of this movement, Mr. Thorp closes with particular consideration of the treatment of woman and of the abandonment of poetic justice in favor of a more complex and real conception. It cannot be said that anything very new or provocative comes out in the course of his study. Necessarily the constant passage from play to play grows a little wearisome. But he has dealt with an important aspect of the change of esthetic temper carefully and clearly, and if here and there one might question the interpretation of a passage such disagreement would have slight effect on the acceptance of an exposition which is in all important respects sound enough.

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*Jean-Jacques Rousseau et Tolstoi.* Par MILAN I. MARKOVITCH.

Bibl. de la R. L. C. Paris, Champion, 1928. 419 pp.

Ce très gros volume n'est en somme qu'une longue série de parallèles, d'abord des vies des deux écrivains, et puis de leurs idées;—série se prolongeant à vrai dire un peu *ad nauseam*, et avec des rapprochements quelquefois boiteux, et quelquefois banals

profondément: par banalité, nous entendons, rapprochement d'idées qui se rencontrent fréquemment ailleurs et n'ont par conséquent pas grande importance; on n'est pas Tolstoïen ou Rousseauiste pour professer p. ex. la croyance en l'existence de Dieu, même d'un Dieu d'amour; le scepticisme sur la valeur du miracle; la haine de la guerre, et l'amour de la paix; que l'homme et la femme ont été faits l'un pour l'autre (258); que tous les deux "croient également que ce sont les femmes qui font tout mouvoir ici-bas" (268) . . . Si c'est là tout, il n'y avait pas lieu de faire ce livre.

Lorsque, d'ailleurs, l'auteur en vient à des problèmes véritables, p. ex. de l'influence de R. sur T., le lecteur doit se contenter d'affirmations plausibles tenant lieu de réelles preuves; les preuves sont du reste difficiles à donner; mais c'est justement un des caractères déconcertants de l'ouvrage, qu'il se propose ici un but irréalisable. Que de fois n'est-on pas certain que T. aurait eu parfaitement les mêmes idées si Rousseau n'eût pas existé du tout! Tel est le cas des théories mentionnées tout à l'heure déjà; et dans tant d'autres cas: "N'est-ce pas ces discours [de R.] qui ont mûri l'indignation de T. contre les institutions tyranniques de la Russie?" (237); ou bien: "C'est le *Contrat social* qui a révélé à T. cette idée révolutionnaire que les lois étant faites par les hommes, elles peuvent être abolies par les hommes" (243). . . Allons donc! Et. que dire de ces personnages des romans de T. qui rappellent des personnages de R: Lévine = Wolmar, ou Emile; Sophie = Kitty; Saint-Preux = Nekludof, etc. Toutes ces remarques ne manquent aucunement d'intérêt, mais ce n'est pas de l'érudition.

Parmi les choses intéressantes que souligne l'auteur, est celle-ci: que la religion est tantôt affaire de raison chez R. et T. (82-3) et tantôt affaire de sentiment (145); or, il s'en étonne (149); mais n'y avait-il pas lieu de creuser un peu ce parallèle-là? Ou, quand on nous dit que R. était partisan d'un célibat prolongé et que T. considérait le célibat comme le plus haut point de perfection (III, ch. v), n'y avait-il pas lieu de chercher la cause de cette divergence? Ou bien encore quand, partant du mot de R.: "Il y a bien peut-être à la vie humaine un but, une fin un objet moral" (161) on nous dit que ce but est "le bien moral de l'humanité", ou de "perfectionner l'homme", c'est désespérément vague; il faudrait dire en quoi cela est intéressant pour R. et T.; sans cela il y a des milliers de gens qui seront intéressants aussi, ayant dit les mêmes choses. Les *Conclusions* n'ont rien d'original: que les deux hommes étaient profondément sincères; qu'il paraît difficile de concilier le *Contrat social* avec la haine de R. pour l'œuvre de la société; qu'il est possible que le théâtre n'est pas si mauvais; et puis, que l'auteur a désiré répondre aux articles de M. Kovaleski et A. Divilkovski "qui ne voient pas un lien étroit entre les doctrines du philosophe de Genève et celles de l'auteur de *Guerre*



et Paix"; et enfin que "vers la fin de sa vie T. a tiré des principes de R. des conséquences plus hardies que celui-ci ne l'avait fait."

Il est un point où l'auteur a avec raison insisté, c'est le caractère pragmatique de la religion de R. et que la religion sentimentale est en marge du reste: "Tolstoi adopte la religion utilitaire du Vicaire Savoyard" (103); et il relève à propos le mot de R., "La vérité que j'aime n'est pas tant métaphysique que morale" (Lettre du 25 juin 1761).

Mais sur beaucoup d'autres points, l'auteur connaît évidemment mieux son T. que son R., et il parle d'un R. de tradition plutôt que d'un R. réel. Ainsi quand il affirme que R. dans les *Confessions* était animé du "désir sincère de dévoiler toute sa vie" (42). Le but de R. est la vérité psychologique d'abord, et puis un besoin de se défendre des accusations de ses ennemis; mais, besoin de confession—non! L'auteur accepte sans autre preuve que la tradition que la théorie rousseauiste est "la bonté originelle de l'homme" et que R. croit "à la possibilité du retour à la nature"—c'est contre tous les textes. Et qu'on compare les deux passages suivants, à quelques lignes l'un de l'autre: "Si R. et T. prêchent avec une telle conviction le retour à la nature, c'est surtout pour des raisons religieuses . . .", et: "Ils rêvent de voir la force spirituelle remplacer la nature bestiale . . ." (228-9): Il faudrait pourtant s'entendre: est-ce *retour* ou *écart* de la nature qu'on veut dire? Page 166-7: "A la base de cette morale (de T.) se trouve le principe de non-agir qui imprègne les pages de l'*Emile*, ce traité de l'éducation négative. . .". Qui ne voit pas ici une grave confusion de toutes choses? Le non-agir de T. est aux antipodes du non-agir dont il est question dans *Emile*.

Ce qui reste de ce livre fort intéressant sinon toujours juste, c'est qu'il y a une grande différence entre ces deux hommes; elle consiste en ce que R. est en dernier ressort, comme philosophe, un rationaliste, et que T. est en dernier ressort un mystique (Comparez la *Profession de foi du Vicaire* et *Ma religion*). De là cette observation fort exacte que R. est mort dans la sérénité philosophique, tandis que T. est mort désespéré et désemparé dans sa petite station de chemin de fer d'Astapavo—une des plus grandes tragédies dans l'histoire de la pensée humaine.<sup>1</sup>

ALBERT SCHINZ.

University of Pennsylvania.

<sup>1</sup> La bibliographie de l'auteur est assez caractéristique de son livre; il cite de Beaulavon une étude secondaire, et non son importante édition du *Contrat social*; Chiquet, pour Chuquet, peut être une faute d'impression; de Faguet, il cite des articles et pas les nombreux livres sur R.; il cite Gide tout court, or il ne s'agit pas d'André mais de Charles et il vaut mieux distinguer; le nom de Hoeffding est mentionné, mais pas son livre si important sur la Philosophie de R.; de Lanson, on cite des études infiniment moins importantes que celle sur "l'unité de pensée de R." dans *Annales J.-J. R.*, VIII (1912); etc.



*The Imaginative Interpretation of the Far East in Modern French Literature, 1800-1925.* By W. L. SCHWARTZ. Paris, Champion, 1927.

Exotic literature is very popular among contemporary French writers and readers. Several critics, such as Emile Deschanel, Louis Cario, Charles Régismanset, S. Rocheblave, H. L. David, Louis Aubert, and René Maublanc have studied certain aspects of Far Eastern influence on French writers, but none of them has aimed to treat the subject thoroughly and in all its phases. The task of writing an elaborate and scholarly survey of it was left to Dr. W. L. Schwartz, whose nine years' residence in Japan as a college professor gave him exceptional preparation for the work.

The book is divided into four chapters, in which one can follow step by step the development of the theme. Théophile Gautier appears to have been the first French writer in the nineteenth century to discover its artistic possibilities. His daughter Judith was also greatly interested in the literature of China and Japan, but, as she never visited those countries, her treatment of them often lacks accuracy. The Goncourts contributed very much in spreading in France the fad of *Japonisme*. Baudelaire, Zola, Hérédia, Champfleury, and other writers showed great interest in Japan's art and literature. Possibly Impressionism and Naturalism owe something to Far Eastern influence. Pierre Loti was the first French literary observer of talent to visit China and Japan. His interpretation of the Far East is not always adequate, for he sees mostly the frivolous side of Japanese life. Paul Claudel was in the French consular service in China from 1895 to 1905. In his data on the Chinese language and customs he is often open to criticism. His unplayed drama, *Le Repos du Septième Jour*, intended to represent Chinese life, thought, and courtly manners, contains not a few inaccuracies. In general, when he treats Far Eastern subjects, he lacks true scholarship. In 1903 Jean Toulet spent a few months in Indo-China, and later visited Canton and possibly Japan. In his *Contrerimes* there is possibly some Far Eastern influence. Claude Farrère is one of the best interpreters of the Far East.

In Chapter IV Dr. Schwartz dwells upon the introduction of the Japanese *haikai* verse form into French poetry. With writers as well qualified on the Far Eastern subjects as Pettit, Segalen, Forthuny, Nadeau, Soulié de Morant, Raucat, and Madame Yamata, "it is possible to state," says Dr. Schwartz, "that French writers are supreme in the imaginative interpretation of the Far East in the first quarter of the twentieth century."

Dr. Schwartz's twenty page bibliography is scholarly and adequate. He deserves to be complimented for his systematic and thorough handling of a vast and difficult subject.

*University of Louisville.*

C. P. CAMBIAIRE.

*La Sorbonne.* Par JEAN BONNEROT. Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1927. Pp. viii + 228, xvii planches. Fr. 15.

Jean Bonnerot, le lettré et érudit attaché à la Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne, à qui on doit un ouvrage considérable sur ce même sujet en collaboration avec M. Barrau-Dihigo le conservateur de ladite bibliothèque, nous donne un petit livre serré, vivant, sur la vie historique, le rôle et l'œuvre de la Sorbonne à travers les siècles. C'est à la fois un mémorial et une description. Les 55 premières pages sont consacrées à l'histoire des bâtiments de la Sorbonne de 1253 à 1927, le reste du livre à la Sorbonne d'aujourd'hui. C'est plaisir de suivre M. Bonnerot dans ces couloirs quand on est bien assuré de ne plus y venir pour passer des examens. Le touriste trouvera mainte chose autant que l'historien de l'art dans les pages de M. Bonnerot. Il ne sera pas mauvais de les avertir (car M. Bonnerot est à ce sujet d'une prudence et d'une discrétion un peu ironiques) que les splendeurs de la Nouvelle Sorbonne sont de valeur inégale. (Je parle, bien entendu, non des professeurs mais des décorations). A côté de Puvis et de Besnard, qui sont là pour la joie des yeux, on verra sévir Jean-Paul Laurens et Jean-Joseph Weerts. Mais dans l'ensemble la demeure a grande allure.

Quant à l'histoire, les faits les plus marquants sont la fondation par Robert de Sorbon en 1253; la reconstruction par Richelieu en 1627; la suppression de la Faculté de Théologie en 1885. Ainsi se fit une grande cassure avec le passé et ainsi fut inaugurée en esprit la Nouvelle Sorbonne. La Faculté de Théologie que Rabelais et, pour de bien autres raisons, Pascal ont brocardée de si joyeuse et cruelle façon "avait été, dit M. Bonnerot, la cause déterminante de la fondation de la Sorbonne et sa raison d'être dans le passé."

La cassure fut naturellement très complète. Et quand on pense à cette rupture avec le passé que représente la création en 1889 de la Nouvelle Sorbonne, on se dit qu'après tout cette institution au nom antique est plus récente que les grandes Universités américaines. On sait d'ailleurs que si on prend bien garde aux formes et aux rites académiques c'est sur ce continent américain que la vieille tradition universitaire s'est le mieux gardée.

En ce qui concerne l'esprit, certains critiques et pamphlétaires voudraient nous persuader que l'impérialisme dogmatique de l'Ancienne Sorbonne n'est pas mort. Il se peut. Mais le dogmatisme sorbonien n'est plus du tout un trait constant ou dominant de la maison. C'est une mauvaise plaisanterie que de le soutenir.

En fait, il n'y a pas "d'esprit de Sorbonne"—bien qu'il y ait encore de l'esprit en Sorbonne . . . L'enseignement de la Sorbonne offre cette diversité de tendances qui est encore la forme la plus sûre de la liberté d'esprit. On y est méthodique et prudent, "discret et scientifique" comme on le dit théologiquement des chanoines. Mais on s'y efforce d'être moderne. On dira peut-être que la façon même dont on s'y "efforce" trahit qu'on a quelque peine à l'être. Mais on dit tant de choses et le monde est devenu si méchant. . . .

Telles sont les réflexions que soulève la lecture de l'agréable et instructif ouvrage de M. Bonnerot, un bon guide pour l'historien, le touriste et l'homme d'Université. On ne saurait trop le recommander à tous les étudiants qui sont venus, viennent ou viendront demander à Dame Sorbonne quelque faveur doctorale.

*Swarthmore College.*

LOUIS CONS.

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*Hugo Schuchardt-Brevier*, Ein Vademecum der allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft, zusammengestellt und eingeleitet von LEO SPITZER. Zweite erweiterte Auflage. Halle: Niemeyer, 1928. 483 pp.

It is a pleasure to see that, after six years, a second edition of Leo Spitzer's work has appeared (Halle, Niemeyer, 1928), even though one regrets that it was denied to Schuchardt to behold it. The book consists essentially of a bibliography of the great linguist's writings, followed by excerpts from them. In the second edition the bibliography is only apparently shorter, containing 770 numbers as against 842 in the first edition; an error in numeration occurred in the first edition, which really contained only 742 numbers. Several articles on detailed subjects have been added, as well as material which appeared after the publication of the first edition, and an index of personal names. The book has thereby been enlarged from 375 to 483 pages. The index of names is incomplete; *s. v.* Schleicher, A., for example add 90, 92, 93, 95, 164, 319, *s. v.* Linné add 125, and add, for instance, Andersen, H. C., 127, Förstemann, E., 166, n. 1, Parodi, 242. The addition of running titles at the head of the pages facilitates the use of the book.

The appearance of the second edition is not merely interesting because of these improvements, but also in that the book is in some ways a model for what volumes in honor of a great scholar should be: a collection of his writings, making them more conveniently accessible and easier to use, rather than a series of disconnected studies, readily getting out of print, and adding to the confusion of our already excessively scattered materials. Even though one may regret occasionally the fact that Schuchardt's articles are not

reprinted exactly as he wrote them, nevertheless the nature of his writings makes such a course by no means uniformly practicable. Schuchardt's extraordinary productivity is evidenced by the fact that he published no less than 23 articles after he was eighty years old. It would be of service if to this as to all bibliographies of the kind a complete index had been appended. The valuable footnotes of the "Sachregister" serve in some sense as such, but only in so far as general ideas are concerned. Certain other changes would also increase the usefulness of the third edition, which one hopes to see some day. One of these would be the addition, in a note to the bibliography, of a few of the principal chronological data about Schuchardt's career; the present edition contains, it is true (pp. 416-437) a reprint of the fascinating sketch of Schuchardt's development, written by the master himself. It would also be of interest to have a list of the obituary articles published about him. Moreover, one would like to have an indication of the pages at which the various excerpts end, in addition to that of the page at which they begin, and, if practicable, indications in the reprint of the beginning of every page or column in the original publication. A table of contents, in addition to the indices, would increase the usefulness of the work. The book is in general carefully printed; in the bibliography, no. 702, for 792 read 694.

D. S. BLONDHEIM.

#### BRIEF MENTION

*The Criticism of Literature.* By ELIZABETH RITCHIE. New York, Macmillan, 1928. Pp. 397. The last few years have witnessed a healthy revival of interest in the field of literary theory or criticism. This is significant and may ultimately lead to some revision of the academic study of literature. In the new literary criticism, founded largely on contemporary psychology and aesthetics, Mr. I. A. Richards must be regarded as the pioneer in the English-speaking world. It may seem unfortunate that Miss Ritchie has failed to carry further the splendid work of Mr. Richards and that of his German colleagues Roetteken and Lehmann. It is true that Miss Ritchie recognizes the importance of contemporary psychology and aesthetics for the student of literature; in her volume we find an occasional reference to Miss Puffer, Santayana, Langfeld, or Titchener; she even makes a valiant attempt to apply the correspondence- and coherence- theories of truth to the problem of poetic truth; but on the whole her psychological and aesthetic background is inadequate. How one can write today a book on literary theory without working through Volkelt's three monumental volumes, is inconceivable. If literary theory is to become "scientific," it must necessarily take cognizance of the

leading authorities on the problems it attempts to treat. Miss Ritchie is primarily interested in discovering the values of literature; yet we find no suggestion of an acquaintance with the modern theory of value. The chapter on "Emotional Value" makes no mention of the standard works on emotion by Ribot and MacCurdy. The chapters on the imagination neglect Ribot's classic treatise entitled *L'imagination Créatrice*, Mueller-Freienfels' *Das Denken und die Phantasie* and Rignano's *Psychology of Reasoning*.

Though disappointing to the student of psychology and aesthetics, the book has its value for the undergraduate and the general public. The point of view is liberal and on the whole acceptable. The illustrations, though almost entirely restricted to English literature, are well chosen. The exercises in the "Appendix" are ingenious, though at times impractical. For many teachers of literary criticism Miss Ritchie's book will be a welcome class text. Next to Mr. Richards' book, it is probably the best volume on the subject at present available.

LOUIS P. DE VRIES.

University of Washington.

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*L'influence des Saisons de Thomson sur la Poésie descriptive en France (1759-1810)*. Par MARGARET M. CAMERON. Paris: Champion, 1927. Pp. 201. Bibl. de la R. L. C. Ce volume étudie le cas, certainement unique, d'une influence plutôt formidable d'un étranger sur la littérature française—influence répétée à une quarantaine d'années de distance. La traduction française des *Saisons* (1730) est de 1759, et la nouvelle vague thomsonienne est de 1796 à 1810. Et, chose curieuse, la première fois ce fut non Thomson lui-même, mais un disciple français, Saint-Lambert, qui accapara à peu près complètement les lauriers; Thomson prit sa revanche la seconde fois. Tout cela est présenté fort judicieusement. L'auteur a, par ailleurs, réuni sous une même couverture une quantité de renseignements fort utiles à ceux qu'intéresse la poésie en France dans la seconde moitié du dix-huitième siècle et du commencement du dix-neuvième (Le lecteur fera une riche moisson sur Saint-Lambert, Roucher, Fontanes, Chénier, surtout Delille). Un Index fort utile termine le volume.

A. SCHINZ.

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*The Year's Work in English Studies*. Volume VII, 1926. Edited for The English Association by F. S. BOAS and C. H. HERFORD. New York: Oxford University Press, 1928. Pp. 321. \$2.50. The usefulness of this annual chronicle of English scholarship becomes more apparent with each succeeding volume. As a record of the year's production it is not as complete nor in many ways as easy to consult as the *Bibliography* issued by the Modern Humanities Research Association; it is, however, thanks to its careful sum-



maries of the more important recent studies, an equally indispensable aid to the scholar overwhelmed in the flood of current publications. The only complaint that one can make is that its summaries, valuable as they are, are too infrequently accompanied by the kind of searching scholarly criticism of method and results that we have a right to expect from the distinguished specialists to whom we owe the various chapters. There are many exceptions, notably in the sections contributed by Sir Edmund Chambers and by Professors Grierson and Nicoll; but the work as a whole would be greatly improved if a more balanced ratio could be established, even at the sacrifice of some of the shorter notices, between judgment and description. The present volume contains notices of 661 publications—316 books and 345 articles.

R. S. CRANE.

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*Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature.* Vol. VIII: 1927. Edited for the Modern Humanities Research Association by D. EVERETT and E. SEATON. Cambridge, Bowes & Bowes, 1928. Pp. viii + 201. 6s. 6d. It is a pleasure to record the appearance of the eighth issue of the M. H. R. A. bibliography. With the publication of the third number this *Annual Bibliography* established itself in the first place among current bibliographies in the English field. The new volume appears with several minor changes designed to facilitate reference. American English is now given a separate section, and a sub-heading "Philosophy and Science" has been added to "Old and Middle English: Subsidiary." Fifteenth Century Literature also is given a section to itself, but one wonders why it is put under Modern English. It is difficult to see what is gained by departing from the traditional date 1500 or 1550 as the division between Middle and Modern English. An excellent innovation is the arrangement of the Shakespeare items in convenient sub-groups: Editions, General Criticism, and Separate Works. The editors show a commendable willingness to include items omitted from earlier issues, one such item (1389) concerning a publication of 1923. It would be ungenerous to criticise the work on the score of its inclusiveness, but one wonders whether the editors do not go too far at times in admitting items of a journalistic and ephemeral nature, especially where no critical comment can be added to save the reader's time. The publishers have attempted to improve the volume by using stiffer paper for the cover, but without complete success. The new cover shows a stubborn tendency to curl, and it is to be hoped that further experiments will be made until an inexpensive but durable binding is found. Thin boards would add little to the cost and would be most acceptable.

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